Appendices A-E

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Appendix A

Authorization for Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study

To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to conduct studies of specific areas for potential inclusion in the National Park System and for other purposes.

H.R. 3423, Interior Appropriations, incorporated by cross-reference in Conference Report H. Rept. 106-479; became Public Law No. 106-113, 11/29/1999.

SEC. 326.

(a) **SHORT TITLE**- This section may be cited as the `National Park Service Studies Act of 1999'.

(b) **AUTHORIZATION OF STUDIES**-

(1) **IN GENERAL**- The Secretary of the Interior (`the Secretary') shall conduct studies of the geographical areas and historic and cultural themes described in subsection (b)(3) to determine the appropriateness of including such areas or themes in the National Park System.

(2) **CRITERIA**- In conducting the studies authorized by this Act, the Secretary shall use the criteria for the study of areas for potential inclusion in the National Park System in accordance with section 8 of Public Law 91-383, as amended by section 303 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act (Public Law 105-391; 112 Stat. 3501).

(3) **STUDY AREAS**- The Secretary shall conduct studies of the following:

(A) Anderson Cottage, Washington, District of Columbia.
(B) Bioluminescent Bay, Puerto Rico.
(C) Civil Rights Sites, multi-State.
(D) Crossroads of the American Revolution, Central New Jersey.
(E) Fort Hunter Liggett, California.
(F) Fort King, Florida.
(G) Gaviota Coast Seashore, California.
(H) Kate Mullany House, New York.
(I) Loess Hills, Iowa.
(J) **Low Country Gullah Culture, multi-state**.
(K) Nan Madol, State of Ponape, Federated States of Micronesia (upon the request of the Government of the Federated States of Micronesia).
(L) Walden Pond and Woods, Massachusetts.
(M) World War II Sites, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas.
(N) World War II Sites, Republic of Palau (upon the request of the Government of the Republic of Palau).

(c) **REPORTS**- The Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives a report on the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of each study under subsection (b) within three fiscal years following the date on which funds are first made available for each study.

Appendix B

Note: *The late Dr. William Pollitzer, at the request of the Gullah/Geechee Special Resource Study Team, prepared a synopsis of his book. The text to follow, included in this report with permission of University of Georgia Press, provides the reader with an overview of Pollitzer's work.*

THE GULLAH PEOPLE AND THEIR AFRICAN HERITAGE

William S. Pollitzer

Preface

I was born in Charleston, South Carolina, where my grandfather had been a cotton factor and my aunts continued to live. After my father, a pediatrician, had moved to the Up Country, it was always a joy to return to the Low Country and this unique, historic city. But I knew little of the "darker side" of life there, the black folks. Much later, my studies in anthropology and genetics at Columbia University raised questions about the people called the "Gullah Negroes," who had lived for almost three centuries along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. Where did they come from, how closely were they related to their ancestors, and how had they developed their unique speech and culture?

My visits to Salvador in Bahia, Brazil, for lectures and research revealed the rich heritage of those of African descent, mixed with Indians and whites, who had kept alive the language and practices from specific areas of Africa. This stimulated me to learn more about the origins, history, and distinctive characteristics of the Gullah people who had been isolated in the Tidewater region. My inquiry revealed their African heritage, the relative proportion of different ethnic groups there, and their influence on genetics, health, language, social structure, and many arts and crafts. Plants and parasites from Africa also came with the slave trade to the Low Country, with profound effects.

This report is based upon my book, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*, University of Georgia Press, 1999, which also contains more tables and maps, as well as figures, pictures, a chronology, citations, notes, and bibliography. In brief, it illustrates why the Tidewater region, from Georgetown, S. C., through Georgia and into Florida, is worthy of special designation, and the culture of African Americans who live there worthy of preservation, protection, and interpretation to the public.
William S. Pollitzer
October, 2001

Chapter 1. *Flesh and Blood*

"His name's not really Sunday. We just call him that 'cause he's born on Sunday."
So said the black men to this author about the driver of the truck as we drove over Hilton Head Island one summer day in 1954. This typical African naming practice had survived among the Gullah people on this sea island near Savannah off the coast of Georgia. The men pointed sadly to the soil and beach where they and their ancestors had farmed and fished for generations. Whites were then beginning to buy up their land, soon to be covered by golf courses and condominiums. The retention of the old had met the challenge of the new. Although the marsh and dikes of the old rice plantations still persist, the Carolina coast is vastly different today from what it was a century ago. Changes in the last half-century especially threaten the

Gullah people and their way of life. As Emory Campbell, Director of Penn Center on St. Helena Island, expressed it: "We are the endangered species."

The homeland of the Gullah stretches 250 miles along the Tidewater from Georgetown in South Carolina, through Georgia and into Florida, where the people developed in relative isolation. Not only their distinctive speech and many cultural traits indicate their close affinity to African ancestors, but also biologically the sea island blacks, a mixture of many strains, are chiefly African, with some white and Native American genes.

Faces and Genes from Africa.
Physical anthropologists once divided mankind into distinct races; today they recognize gradients or clines in all biological traits instead. Single-gene traits like blood factors prove to be a better measure of migration and admixture of populations than do measures of morphology.

In the 1920s Herskovits measured twenty-six physical features of adult black males, most of them in Howard University and Harlem, and found them intermediate between Africans and Europeans. Eighty percent of them reported mixed ancestry, usually with whites, but 30 percent with Indians. Similarly, an analysis of thirty-six features of male crania, made in 1974, suggested that American blacks are three-fourths African and one-fourth European in ancestry. This contrasts sharply with the Gullah people.

Among inherited blood types, Group B is twice as common in Africans as in Europeans. Whites are 85 percent *Rh* positive, blacks are 92 percent. Most populations below the Sahara average 60 percent of the *Rho* subtype found in only 2 percent of whites. Absence of the Duffy blood factor (*Fy*) in blacks, common in other people, is responsible for their immunity to vivax malaria.

The frequency of these and other genetic markers, such as red blood cell factors *M, S, Jk*, and *K*, and certain inherited proteins in blood plasma, show, as the physical traits did, that African Americans in northern cities have about one-fourth white ancestry. Compare this with admixture based on inherited blood factors of 479 women and 57 men observed by this author in the clinics of the Medical College in Charleston in the 1950s. One-third were born in the city of Charleston, over two-thirds in Charleston County, and 95 percent in the coastal tier of counties. Of their parents, 60 percent were natives of the county and 85 percent were from the coastal strip; in half the cases father, mother, and subject came from the same location. The people studied were thus undoubtedly descendants of those brought to the region centuries before, although some migration among them was present even then. Only about 6 percent of their genes came from non-African ancestry, far less than that elsewhere in the country.

Apolipoproteins are inherited proteins attached to fat molecules in blood plasma. Many genetically controlled variants of them, identified by size, density, and electric charge, have been identified. Like blood types, the genes for them vary in frequency in different populations, some present only in whites and others only in blacks. Analysis of apolipoproteins of Nigerians and African Americans show significantly more white admixture in blacks of Pittsburgh than in blacks of four coastal Carolina counties – Charleston, Berkeley, Dorchester, and Colleton. The genes found only in whites are rarer in Carolina than in Pittsburgh; most of those found only in blacks are more frequent in Carolina. White admixture of blacks of coastal South Carolina and Georgia, determined from blood factors, contrasts sharply with that of African Americans in cities of the north and west .

Physical features are in agreement with the findings from genetics: measurement of skin pigment, stature, sitting height, nose width, face width, lip thickness, and prognathism show that the black coastal Carolinians more closely resemble sub-Saharan Africans than other African Americans do. The sea island blacks thus contrast greatly with those studied by Herskovits. In both morphology and inherited blood

factors the Gullah are closer to western Africa and further removed from whites than are other African Americans.

That Sick as Hell Anemia

Abnormal hemoglobins in the coastal blacks tell an even more striking story of their African kinship.In a youngster with sickle cell anemia, jagged red blood cells course through capillaries causing severe pain and early death. No wonder it is known in Charleston as that "sick as hell anemia." Caused by abnormal genes inherited from both parents (SS), it contrasts with normal hemoglobin (AA) and with the benign trait in carriers (AS), who inherit an abnormal gene from only one parent. Hemoglobin C follows the same genetic laws and similar processes but causes a milder disease. The hemoglobin molecule, responsible for carrying oxygen to the tissues, consists of heme surrounded by alpha and beta globin chains. Both sickle cell and hemoglobin C disease result from abnormal beta chains. In contrast , thalassemia is an inherited disease that results from a decrease of production of normal hemoglobin chains; of two varieties, that affecting beta globin chains causes a more serious illness than that affecting alpha chains.

Sickle cell hemoglobin occurs in a wide belt through equatorial Africa. The trait (AS) varies from 12 percent in Senegambia through 15 percent in Ghana to more than 20 percent in Nigeria and Central Africa. Hemoglobin C trait (AC) reaches a high of 13 percent in Ghana and neighboring Benin, falls off sharply in adjacent regions, and is virtually absent in Central Africa. Beta thalassemia trait is about 8 percent in Liberia and rarer in other areas. The sickle cell trait is present in about 8 percent of African Americans, Hemoglobin C trait in 2 percent, and beta thalassemia in less than one percent.

Over half a century ago Paul Switzer, then an intern at the Roper Hospital inCharleston, found 14 percent sickle cell trait in red blood cells of sea island blacks. Many subsequent surveys found an even higher incidence in Charleston county, similar to that in Africa and twice as high as in African Americans generally. Three percent Hemoglobin C and one percent beta thalassemia demonstrate the role of West Africa in the ancestry of the Gullah people.

In the presence of deadly falciparum malaria, those with such abnormal hemoglobins are protected from the parasite causing it. Carriers, with one normal and one abnormal gene (AS), live longer than both those with the anemia (SS) and those with normal hemoglobin (AA); when they reproduce they keep the sickle cell gene in the population. The importance of this selective advantage of abnormal hemoglobin is dramatically illustrated by the history of blacks in the Low Country from 1684 into the 1940s.

Variations along the Coast

Abnormal hemoglobins reflect differences among populations of coastal blacks. Those of Georgia counties average 9 percent sickle cell trait, with a high of 14 percent on Sapelo Island. Those of South Carolina counties have 12 percent, but Charleston County averages 15 percent, far greater than elsewhere in the United States. This probably reflects both their relatively unmixed African ancestry and the selective pressure from malaria that maintained the high frequency of this genetic trait. Gene frequencies of abnormal hemoglobins of Charleston blacks are similar to those of many African countries and much greater than those of other African Americans. However, variations in frequency of inherited blood factors do occur among the counties of the South Carolina
and Georgia Low Country and even within Charleston County.

The Charleston Heart Study, begun in the 1960s, determined many medical and biological variables, including skin color, ABO and *Rho* blood types, and hemoglobin variants, among people of the county, subdivided by race and by residence in city, suburbs, and rural areas. The findings are important for the African origins and later distribution of people on the coast.

The rural men and women are darker than the city dwellers. Although this could be influenced by their greater exposure to sunlight, the higher frequency of *Rho* and *Hb. AS* suggests less white admixture, as expected from their history. The people on the sea islands southwest of the city are darkest of all and have 69 percent *Rho*, 20 percent Group
B, 24 percent *Hb. AS*, and one percent *Hb. AC*, all suggestive of close African affinity.

Biological variables should be helpful in the search for origins of the sea island people, but physical features are too blended, genetic markers too intermediate, and data from Africa too sparse to connect them directly with some specific region of that continent. Similar blood types and Hb. S frequencies are found in many areas from Senegal to Angola; Hb. C frequency, however, does suggest a genetic contribution from the area around Ghana. If many inhabitants of the sea islands south of Charleston came from African regions where people had dark skin color, high Rho, modest Group B, high sickle cell trait, and some Hb. C, and remained relatively isolated and unmixed, it could account for the traits observed. Nigeria, which has been linked with Wadmalaw Island by language and customs, is one possibility. Only further surveys of genetic markers and historical research on both sides of the Atlantic could solve this mystery.

New techniques of molecular biology hold out hope for unraveling the genetic history of the Gullah. Four haplotypes, or clusters of genes, are known for sickle cell hemoglobin in African populations: Senegal, Benin, Cameroon, and Bantu (or CAR for Central African Republic), named for the region where first found and most abundant. Among southeastern American blacks the Benin type is most common (56 percent), followed by Bantu (19 percent) and Senegal (15 percent). For comparing the coastal Carolina population with African ancestors such haplotype frequencies, not yet fully known, would be enormously valuable.

A survey of black families on James Island just outside the city of Charleston confirmed earlier findings, except that the people were found to be slightly more admixed with whites. That study also gave new insights into the inheritance of thalassemia and provided data on the structure and genetics of the teeth of the Gullah people that further reflect their African heritage.

Teeth Make an Impression

Teeth fascinate anthropologists. With highly heritable variations in shape and size, and preservation long after other traces of the body have disintegrated, teeth are useful in describing populations living and dead. Fine details of structure also reveal information on diet and health.

As part of a large study of the genetic basis of adult dentition, Menegaz-Bock measured teeth in 391 people in seventy-six black families on James Island. The pattern of their dentition differs from that of Seminole Indians and other Native American populations, but resembles that of Africans and other African Americans.The teeth of blacks, both in Africa and in America, are larger than those of whites. In length (mesio-distal dimension) the front teeth, incisors and canines, are smaller, but the back teeth, premolars and molars, are larger. In width (bucco-lingual dimension) the reverse is true; the front teeth are thicker but the back ones are thinner than in whites.

The data from Africa, unfortunately mostly from areas outside the slave trade region, reveal teeth somewhat smaller than those of the sea islanders. One crude measure of size is the sum of the length of the teeth. At 119 mm. the Gullah teeth are exceeded in overall size only by those of one group of Bantu; they are bigger than the dentition of other Africans and African Americans. Tooth width shows a similar sequence. In their pattern, the Gullah teeth are similar to those of five other American black populations analyzed, but larger; some features of their molars and premolars show their resemblance to Africans.

Size alone does not tell the whole story. One notable and highly heritable feature, common in Asiatics and American Indians, present in some Africans, but rare in whites, is a scooped out or shovel shape to the back

of the incisors. Its average depth in the central incisors of Seminole Indians is 1.00 mm; in the blacks on James Island it is 0.63 mm., a finding consistent with their African ancestry with some white and Indian admixture.

Thus, morphology, red cell blood types, plasma proteins, hemoglobin variants, and dentition of the sea island blacks present a consistent picture of a predominantly African people with minimal white and Indian admixture, and with indications of genetic contributions from the western bulge of the continent. To solve the puzzle of the formation of the Gullah people on the coast of Carolina and Georgia, and to give them pride in their heritage, it is necessary to turn back to Africa and the rich diversity of its geography, people, history, culture, and language.

Chapter 2. *Exodus: The In-Human Trade*

"You've come home!"
With that friendly welcome the natives of Sierra Leone greeted the visitors from the Carolina sea islands, who soon joyously recognized speech, basketry, songs, musical instruments, and the manner of tossing fishing nets so familiar to them. But when this Gullah delegation visited Bance Island off the shore, where ocean-going ships had loaded
their slave ancestors, their voices fell silent and their faces showed grief. Buildings still stand along the African coast as grim reminders of the transoceanic slave trade.

To appreciate the magnitude and variation of that mass forced migration to the New World, it is necessary to understand the incredible size of Africa that Europeans called the Dark Continent. The United States could fit into it three times. In topography, climate, vegetation and people, Africa is a picture of diversity, with a tropical zone embraced by two temperate ones. Below the Sahara desert lies the Sudan of grassland and woodland; further south the Guinea Coast and the Congo River basin form the tropical rainforest. These West and Central African regions were the homeland of the ancestors of the Gullah people who differed in physique, language, and culture.

In the savannah of the western Sudan herding is combined with agriculture, manufacturing is highly specialized, markets and trade flourish, musical instruments are varied, Islam is influential, and linguistic chaos abounds. On the Guinea Coast , agriculture is intensive, crops from Malaysia and America fueled a population explosion, markets and craft guilds are well developed, art reached its zenith; and languages are varied. The Congo culture area, following the expansion of the Bantu into Central Africa, is supported by shifting agriculture, bark cloth, ceremonial drums, religion stressing death, sculpture, and the paramount importance of kinship. Here, and in some of the Guinea Coast, dense and hostile vegetation separates villages; disease has had its greatest impact in this unhealthy and forbidding environment.

More than 750 languages of Africa, classified by Greenberg, make a Babel of tongues, but a knowledge of the areas where they are spoken is necessary for appreciation of the Gullah language. Prominent along the western coast are Wolof, Susu, Temne, Mende, Kpelle, and Vai; further interior are Malinke and Bambara; and Fulani is spread over West Africa. Along the Guinea Coast are Twi, Ga, Fante (Fanti), Ewe, Fon, Yoruba, Igbo (Ibo), Ibibio, Bini and Efik. Twi and the related Fante are called Akan languages. In the large Bantu group of Central Africa are Kongo, Kikongo, Bobangi, Luba (Tshiluba), Kimbundu, and Umbundu. The vocabulary and grammar of these languages influenced the development of Gullah.

Of some 12 million Africans shipped from Africa to the New World from the fifteenth into the nineteenth century, about 11 million arrived, a grim reminder of the death rate in the “Middle Passage.” While the majority went to Latin America, almost 2 million went to the British islands in the Caribbean, especially Jamaica and Barbados. Eight coastal regions are recognized in the eighteenth century English slave trade.

The first, Senegambia, includes Senegal and Gambia of today. A second, from the Casamance in the north to Cape Mount in the south, labeled Sierra Leone, includes not only that nation but also modern Guinea and Guinea-Bissau plus small parts of Senegal and Liberia. The third, the Windward Coast, stretching from Cape Mount to Assini at the western edge of Ghana, includes Liberia and the Ivory Coast, but the usage of the term varied over time. To the eighteenth-century British it meant anything westward of the Gold Coast.

The coast of Liberia, originally the Malagueta or Pepper Coast from malagueta pepper, was also known as the Grain Coast or Rice Coast. The fourth region is the Gold Coast, roughly the same as Ghana of today. Further east, beyond the Volta River, lies the fifth region, the Bight of Benin, or the Slave Coast of present-day Togo and Benin and part of Nigeria. The Bight of Biafra, including the Niger Delta plus the mouths of the Cross River and Duala River to the east in Cameroon, is the sixth region of the slave trade, bounded by the Benin River to the west and Cape Lopez in Gabon to the south. Angola in its broadest sense, including not only that nation but also Zaire, Congo-Brazzaville, part of Gabon to the north, and part of Namibia to the south, comprises a seventh region also called Central Africa. The eighth region is the southern coast, reaching up to Mozambique on the east coast of Africa and including the island of Madagascar across from it, from which few slaves probably came.

The Traffic to Charleston

Records from 200 years ago written in the careful script of the day recreate the busy times at the port of Charleston which had grown from its modest beginnings in 1670 to one of the most active ports in North America by the time of the Revolution. *The Book of Manifests* from 1784 through 1787, in the *Records of the States*, lists not only the date, entry number, ship, captain, and port of origin for vessels in the harbor, but also the merchandise, the merchant buying the goods, and the duty. Here and there listed among the other imports is the human cargo, small shipments from Bermuda or St. Thomas or other states in the newly created United States, as well as larger shipments of slaves from Angola or Gambia or the Gold Coast. Often just "Africa" appears in neat Gothic script, obscuring the specific homeland of those taken across the sea.

One can visualize the scene in the crowded harbor from the wide variety of vessels and their names: The Schooner *Grecian Lady*, the Sloop *May*, the Brigantine *Neptune*, the Ship *Fortitude*, the Cutter *Ferril*, the Bark *Molly*, and the Snow *Jean Baptista*. The names of the ships engaged in the slave trade often belie their doleful mission: *Happy Couple*, *Charming Polly*, *Delight*, *Olive-Branch*, *Relief*, *Hope*, *Providence*, *Content,* and *Friendship*. The best known names in the city of Charleston are often listed as the recipients of the slaves, such as Nathaniel Russell, whose home is a major tourist attraction today.

From the earliest days of the settlement of Carolina, black bondsmen accompanied their masters, usually from the West Indies. At least sixty-five of them entered Charles Town in its very first decade, and more soon followed. For those early years the exact count and source are difficult to determine; most ships from Barbados and neighboring islands had a few on board, their African provenience unknown.

As early as 1674 the Proprietors instructed one Andrew Percival who controlled a plantation south of the Ashley River to begin a trade with the Spaniards for "Negroes." Trade was laid open by an act of 1698, and by the end of the century direct commerce between Africa and Carolina was underway. Significantly in that same year an act encouraged white servants, because the great number of blacks imported was perceived as endangering the safety of the colony--a note of caution heard again in succeeding years.

From the founding of Charles Town the importation grew astronomically. The total for 1706 was only 24, for 1707, 22, but by 1724 it was 604; it rose sharply in the 1740s with demands for labor for rice and indigo cultivation, and peaked in the nineteenth century.

Planters and dealers alike recognized different attributes in slaves from the various regions of Africa and expressed decided preferences. The many letters of Henry Laurens, engaged in the trade for decades in the eighteenth century until the American Revolution, reflect these perceptions and preferences.

The order of choice among South Carolina planters appears to have been Gold Coast, Gambia, Windward Coast, and Angola; Ibo from Calabar or Bonny in the Bight of Biafra were considered worst. The reasons were chiefly size, strength, or health, although temperament also counted. Real or imagined traits of behavior sometimes reinforced preferences based upon physique; alleged attributes might influence a dealer or a buyer as much as actual ones.

Coramantees from the Gold Coast were described as having extraordinary strength and symmetry, distinguished appearance, and proud bearing. They were blacker, taller, and handsomer than their fellow slaves, vigorous, muscular, hardy, and agile, intelligent, fierce, stubborn, unwilling to forgive a wrong, but loyal if their devotion were captured. Gambians were similarly tall, strong, and very dark. Senegalese were considered most intelligent and esteemed for domestic service. Mandingoes were gentle in demeanor, but sinking under fatigue. Whydahs and Pawpaws were said to be lusty, industrious, cheerful, submissive, even tempered, complacent, and obedient. Those from Congo and Angola were slender and slight, mild and honest, stupid, docile, comely, and inclined to run away. The Eboes (Ibos) were called jaundiced, sickly, unattractive, superstitious, lazy, despondent, and prone to suicide.

The profits from some voyages of the slave trade into the port at Charles Town must have been enormous to offset the losses caused by the various hazards, including disease, wars, storms, pirates, and mutinies. Graphic accounts of mutinies especially illustrate the ethnocentric viewpoint of white men and belie the conventional picture of docile black ones.

> To be SOLD Wednesday the 24th Instant September, a Parcel of choice Negroes, imported in the *Happy Couple* - - -Hill Master directly from the Coast of Guiney, by Jos. Wragg and Comp. N.B. Extraordinary Encouragement will be given for present Pay, and Payment this Crop."

This advertisement, accompanied by a small black figure, appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*, Number 85, for September 6-13, 1735. Hundreds of such ads printed in the Charleston newspapers from 1733-1807, provide one excellent source of data on the number and provenience of slaves imported into Carolina.

The British Naval Office, responsible for the loading and unloading of vessels in the ports of the colonies in the eighteenth century, is another valuable source of information. Stationed at Charles Town, Georgetown and Port Royal, their record, in the elegant penmanship of the day, provides a unique insight into the commerce to and from the increasingly important colony of South Carolina. While many ships brought a few blacks from the West Indies, the record shows increasing shipments from "Africa" in large numbers.

The Records of the Public Treasurers of South Carolina list the duty on blacks imported from 1735-1774 plus the captain of the ship, the agency or importer, the source of the shipment, and the number of slaves; and the manifests in the Records of the States contains similar information from 1784-1787.

No one source is complete, but through the use of all of them, with attention to dates, ships, captains, and origins, a fairly accurate picture can be constructed of the number of enslaved persons legally transported from eight coastal regions of Africa to Charles Town in three time periods. Early is from 1716-1744, Middle from 1749-1787, and Final from 1804-1807.

In the Early Period Angola contributed half of the 22,117 slaves imported, or three-fourths of those of known African origin. The numbers from Senegambia and from the Bight of Biafra are small, and those

from other areas are negligible. In the Middle Period, however, when 63,210 people were imported into Charles Town from Africa, Senegambia was responsible for one-third of the slave trade of known origin. The Windward Coast made a substantial contribution at this time followed closely by Angola and then the Gold Coast. While the total trade tripled in this second half of the eighteenth century, the actual number from Angola decreased. The people from Senegambia increased ten fold as rice and indigo cultivation began to flourish in Carolina. The number from the Gold Coast, although half that from Senegambia, saw a thirteen-fold increase over the Early Period.

In the four feverish years of the Final Period, the total number of Africans imported --29,461 -- far exceeded all those brought in the twenty-eight years of the Early Period, and is almost half the amount in the thirty-nine years of the Middle Period. Angola accounted for over half of the trade, followed by the Windward Coast and then by the Gold Coast, with lesser contributions from other regions.

By summing the data of the three time periods, a picture of the total African slave trade to South Carolina alone appears (see “Map 5”). When 23,000, 20 percent of the total, who cannot be assigned to a particular coastal region are omitted, some 39 percent came from Angola which includes Congo, 20 percent from Senegambia, 17 percent from the Windward Coast, and 13 percent from the Gold Coast. The contribution from Sierra Leone is only 6 percent and that from the two Bights and from Madagascar and Mozambique even less. It is of interest to see if this distribution of people imported, 60 percent from West Africa and 40 percent from Central Africa, is reflected in the speech and behavior of the sea islanders.

Role of the West Indies

One third of the known slave trade between the Caribbean islands and Charles Town took place in the Early Period, two thirds in the flourishing Middle Period, and virtually none in the Final Period. Barbados sent the greatest number, followed by St. Kitts, Antigua, Jamaica, and a dozen other Caribbean islands.

Slaves brought from the British West Indies are important for their impact on the sea islands because of their ethnic origins. Although these migrants were already somewhat adapted to the dominant whites by "seasoning" for a few years in the islands, they nonetheless retained the language and customs of their African homeland. Of two million Africans brought to the British Caribbean, Jamaica and Barbados received the bulk; in the eighteenth century they re-exported one-fourth to the mainland. The ethnic composition of Africans imported into Jamaica and Barbados from 1662-1713 shows emphasis upon the role of the Gold Coast and Benin; as the century progressed, Biafra had a greater share of the trade. Of the known British slave trade from 1700 through 1807, the Bight of Biafra contributed 37 percent and the Gold Coast 13 percent, together just half of the total.

While direct importations from the Gold Coast are surprisingly modest in light of the known preference for these people in Carolina, they were thus greatly supplemented by those who came via the West Indies. To an even greater degree bondsmen from the Bights of Benin and Biafra, rare in the direct trade, contributed indirectly via the Caribbean islands. The preponderance of the Bantu-speaking people from Congo and Angola in the Early Period, reinforced by vast numbers in later time, accounts for their influence in Carolina. But Senegambians, preferred by planters and dealers, came in sufficient numbers, especially in the Middle Period, 1749-1787, to have a lasting effect. People from the Windward Coast also contributed appreciably in that Period as well as in
the Final Period from 1804-1807.

The ban on the slave trade to Georgia, imposed with its settlement in 1732, was lifted in 1750, but far fewer Africans entered that colony than neighboring South Carolina. Until 1766 imports to Georgia were from the West Indies and other colonies, especially South Carolina. Of an estimated 6,539 from 1755 to 1798, 2,038, one-third, came from the Caribbean. Of 3,680 from a known region of Africa, 43 percent came from Gambia and 44 percent from Sierra Leone or the Windward Coast.

There is much evidence that slaves were smuggled into Georgia illegally, especially from Congo and Angola, but also Ibos from the Bight of Biafra. At the time of Charles Lyell's visit to Georgia in the 1840s, one-fourth of the black population were said to have come directly from Africa. Even in 1858 the ship Wanderer landed 400 Africans from the Congo, mostly boys between 13 and 18, on Jekyll Island. Many of them and their descendants remained in the area, but 120 were shipped up the Savannah River to Augusta, Georgia. Some, interviewed in 1908, displayed their filed teeth and their houses built of straw, and recalled the crops grown and the slavery and polygamy practiced in Africa. African Americans on the Georgia coast in the 1930s recalled people brought from Africa with "Golla" in their names.

Slaves also entered Georgia by a semi-legal route, for Florida remained under the Spanish until ceded to the United States in 1819, and became a state only in 1845. It was thus possible for Africans, transported legally into Spanish Florida, to be brought over the border well after the slave trade officially ended in 1808. Memories of Africa, including recollections of the Moslem religion, survived in Georgia into the twentieth century. African retentions may have been strongest on the Georgia coast because of later reinforcements both directly and indirectly via Florida.

The slave trade brought not only people, but also parasites: deadly malignant tertian (falciparum) malaria, yellow fever, smallpox, and a host of worms. Blacks are relatively immune to the more common benign tertian (vivax) malaria. The mosquito-ridden Low Country allowed them to survive and work while whites fled to higher ground from May to October. Their isolation on the sea islands permitted development of their unique culture. But blacks suffered from white man’s illnesses, and some still do. Respiratory ailments, like pneumonia, hit them hardest, and whooping cough, diphtheria, and measles also took a deadly toll. Nutritional deficiencies compounded their health problems.

Members of a homogeneous group who came to an area first and in large numbers had an opportunity to establish their common speech and culture; those who followed in the same area, especially if they came in modest numbers over time, were compelled to adjust to the earlier ethnic group, as well as to whites. Although planters recognized different tribes, they blended them to make a homogeneous work force and obscure these distinctions.

Africans who arrived in Carolina and Georgia brought with them attributes of biology, culture, and language that reflected their homeland. What was retained into modern times was dependent not only on the genes, physique, customs, and speech of the areas of Africa from which they came, but also upon the numbers from different tribes, their time of arrival, whom they encountered along the way, and those they met on American shores. Moreover, the prevalence, strength, and utility of different attributes affected their survival. Beliefs, practices, skills, crafts, and speech of the Gullah, like the human body, are more than a retention of those traits in Africa, but rather an adaptation over time that led through creolization to a distinctive society on the sea islands.

The black population grew astronomically. By 1740 it was almost 40,000 while the white population was 20,000, a ratio of two to one, fed both by natural increase and the ever-growing slave trade. By the 1770s half of the black population lived on big plantations where they vastly outnumbered whites, further promoting their isolation. In 1790, South Carolina’s 107,094 slaves were 43 percent of its population, but Beaufort and Charleston Districts had 76 percent and some parishes reached 90 percent, as large plantations grew. From that year to the Civil War, the slave population of the state almost quadrupled to 402,400. The increase in the number of Africans, their concentration in rural area, the severity of slave codes, and the social alienation from whites produced an isolation and bond of brotherhood among the Gullah people. Yet miscegenation did occur, proven by history and by the census data on mulattoes.

The rise of “free persons of color,“ usually mulattoes, made an important contribution to Low Country society. In 1790 there were 1,801, by 1820 they had quadrupled to 6,826, most within the city of Charleston. They made a distinctive minority, talented craftsmen essential to the business of the community.

The Civil War brought change to the sea islands. After federal forces took over Beaufort and the neighboring islands, white planters fled and slaves came under the military. Newly emancipated blacks expressed an intense desire to remain in places of their former servitude; many purchased land to which they became emotionally and economically attached. Missionaries and teachers who flocked to the area to help, also reported to a wider world the music, folklore, customs, arts, crafts, beliefs, and language of the Gullah. Their efforts at education proved successful, helped to preserve their culture, and left a continuing legacy. The sea island people continued their isolation and way of life well into the twentieth century.

For all of its tragedy, the slave trade did bring with it benefits: useful plants and healing herbs that fed the economy and aided health.

Chapter 3. *Trans Plants and the Economy*

“Thank Him who placed us here beneath so kind a sky."
-Henry Timrod, *Ethnogenesis*, 1861.
Charleston's eminent nineteenth century poet said it well, but for those who were forced to toil in all kinds of weather, in summer's humid heat or winter's rainy cold, the sky was not always so kind. The story of agriculture and economics in coastal South Carolina is the story of black labor. Exploration of crops grown and their origin provides one further clue to the source of specific people from Africa, where they went in Carolina, and why. It also dramatically illustrates the adaptation of their work patterns to a different environment, a re-creation of something new that arose in America from the interaction of African and English culture, called creolization, a term borrowed from linguistics. Already acclimated to the heat, humidity, and luxuriant vegetation of subtropical Carolina, blacks were better equipped than whites to face the rigors of the frontier. They used their talents well in fields and streams; one man with gun and net could bring in as much food as five families could eat.

From earliest days one natural product was available in abundance to convert into profits, the forest itself. Wood was used for the construction of houses, the building of ships, the making of barrel staves. The needs of the British navy were also fulfilled in naval stores derived from the plentiful pine trees: tar, pitch, resin, and turpentine. Blacks in these operations utilized what they had learned in their homeland. With the clearing of the forests more land was available for another major industry, cattle raising. The mild climate, combined with abundant foliage, caused the multiplication of the animals at a remarkable rate. Soon the leather from cowhides supplemented the skins from deer and other wild animals as valuable exports from the young colony.

Here especially the skills of blacks proved vital to the economy, for they were employed in the herding of live stock. Many Africans, especially the Fulani from Gambia, had had experience in tending cattle in their homeland. The term "cow-boy" first came to be used in coastal Carolina at the beginning of the eighteenth century for one who tends cows, just as "house-boy" was used for one who keeps the house. The Africans taught the Englishmen open grazing in contrast to their custom of raising small herds confined to small pastures, although Spanish to the south also influenced the practices of the Carolina settlers.

People from specific areas of Africa were preferred for particular occupations, often on the basis of their native skills. Thus, Wolofs and other Senegambians were favored as house servants, along with Yoruba and Dahomeans. Bambara and Malinke from the western bulge and Pawpaws and Coramantees from the Gold

Coast area were sought as artisans. Senegambians, thought to have Arabic admixture, were valued as blacksmiths, skilled in the working of both metal and wood. Mande people worked as rowers, transporting supplies and crops along the waterways of Carolina as they had done for ages along the rivers of Senegal and Gambia. These coastal West Africans also imported the art of netcasting which became an established tradition in the tidal shallows of Carolina, and the women served as cooks, maids, and nurses in the white man's home. The Bantu-speaking Angolans, along with the Ibo and related people of Calabar, were more often employed as field hands. Three crops that thrived in the sandy soil of the Low Country required ever more African laborers and enriched their white masters.

Riches from Rice

The crop that became the crown jewel in the crown colony of South Carolina and dominated its economy into the mid-nineteenth century is a legendary pearly white grain barely a quarter of an inch long – rice.

When Captain John Thurber brought seed to Dr. Henry Woodward on a ship from Madagascar about 1685, Carolina Gold Rice, a new grain adaptable to wet cultivation, began. By 1700 more rice was produced in the colony than there were ships to transport it. Later, Carolina White Rice, introduced by Robert Rowan, was even more popular. The days of its greatest economic importance in Charleston's foreign trade lay before the Revolution, but it continued to be an important export crop down to the Civil War. "Charleston's colonial merchants grew as fat on rice profits as the swarms of bobolinks, known as rice birds, fattened themselves during the annual visits to the South Carolina rice fields on the eve of the fall harvest," according to Thomas Tobias.

In 1850, 257 plantations along ten rivers of the state produced an astounding 159,930,613 pounds or nearly 80,000 tons of rice. At its peak 150,000 acres of swamp and tidal marshes were under cultivation. In 1860, nine of the fourteen slaveholders in the United States owning more than 500 slaves were rice planters.

In the early years of the colony, rice was grown on inland swamps, a hazardous procedure because the valuable crop could be lost by either too much water or too little. Then planters learned to utilize the timbered swamps that bordered fresh-water tidal rivers such as the Waccamaw, Pee Dee, Santee, Cooper, Edisto, and Combahee, where tides were utilized in the cultivation of the grain. During the first half of the eighteenth century, three to four acres of rice per hand were produced by the older method; after tidal culture became the norm one man could handle up to seven acres.

Duncan Clinch Heyward, who grew rice himself along the Combahee River just as his great grandfather had done, wrote of the cultivation of the grain in *Seed from Madagascar*. He speculated that the manner of cultivation came from China, based on pictures he had seen of rice production there: the plowing of the fields with black water buffalo, the sowing of seed broadcast on the water, and the transplanting of rice by hand in the fields.

Ironically these very Chinese techniques were not those used in Carolina. David Doar, the last of four generations to plant rice along the Santee, marveled at the intricacies of the elaborate irrigation system necessary for the production of the crop -- from the white man's traditional point of view.

"As one views this vast hydraulic work, he is amazed to learn that all of this was accomplished in the face of seemingly insuperable difficulties by every-day planters who had as tools only the axe, the spade, and the hoe, in the hands of intractable Negro [*sic*] men and women, but lately brought from the jungles of Africa."

Yet rice growing in coastal Carolina is a dramatic case of African influence in America only recently appreciated. Many slaves, especially those from Senegal and the coast to the south of it, evidently knew more about planting this important food crop than their masters did. Blacks from those regions were

deliberately brought to Carolina because of their experience and skill in these techniques. West Africans were actually selling rice to traders by the fifteenth century; Portuguese noted its cultivation in Senegambia by 1453 and purchased it by 1480. The grain was sold to slave traders in the seventeenth century, and was well known in the eighteenth.

As early as 1700 ships from Carolina were in the Gambia River where rice was grown along the river banks. Many advertisements in the Charles Town newspaper attest to the demand for slaves from rice-growing regions of Africa, and the "Rice Coast," a portion of the Windward Coast roughly equal to Liberia, is mentioned repeatedly. The *South Carolina Gazette* for May 30, 1785, advertised 152 slaves from Gambia to be sold on June 7: "The Negroes from this part of the coast of Africa are well acquainted with the cultivation of rice and are naturally industrious." An ad of August 25 of that same year for slaves from the Windward and Gold Coasts stresses the point that they are accustomed to the planting of both rice and corn.

Hardly by chance 61 percent of the slaves brought into Charleston between 1749 and 1787 were from rich rice-growing areas of Africa: Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast. (See Table “6.”) As many of these people had been slaves in their native land, they were often prepared both in attitude and in training for rice cultivation along the Carolina coast. "Carolinians may well have gone to Gambia as students and brought back Africans as teachers."

The history of rice binds together Asia, Africa, and America. *Oryza glaberrima*, with erect, compact flower clusters and red grains, was grown as early as 1500 B. C. along the
Casamance River in Senegambia and the inland delta where the Niger River flows northeast toward Timbuktu. Much later, when the more adaptable Asian species, *O. sativa*, with leaning clusters and white grains and greater yield, was introduced into the western Sudan, it tended to replace the earlier species as well as hybridize with it, and variants of it are widely grown throughout western Africa even today.

Such tribes as the Bambara, Fula, Malinke, and Songhai had long experience in growing this rich grain along the Niger River, while others, such as the Serer, Mende, Temne, Kissi, Papel, and Baga utilized their own special techniques of rice production from Senegal to the Ivory Coast. From Cape Verde to Sierra Leone the extraordinary topography, numerous silt-laden rivers, high tides that periodically covered the terrain, and mangrove roots that hold the alluvium produce the richest soil in West Africa, ideally
suited for rice production. Knowledge of terrains and tides, sluice gates and soil types, rivers and rice, the slaves from West Africa brought to the fields of South Carolina. April brought the sowing when slaves dropped the rice seed into trenches and covered them by the foot. Then sluice gates, opened at high tide, flooded the fields until the seeds sprouted. After draining and hoeing came the "long water" that submerged the fields for three weeks to destroy insects and grass, followed by another three weeks of the excruciating work of hoeing. Toward mid July the harvest flood began when heavy heads of ripening rice were supported by water. September brought final draining, harvesting with rice hooks, drying, tying in sheaves, stacking, and the difficult task of flailing off the heads of the grain, then winnowing to separate the grain from the chaff by fanning in the wind.

When a New World slave plants rice by pressing a hole with his heel and covering the seeds with his foot, his motion is just like that found in parts of West Africa. When blacks sow rice with a gourd or hoe in unison to work songs, the cultivation and the singing too are echoes of traits learned long ago from African ancestors. The term "trunk" for a sluice gate is from West African usage, where a hollow log plugged at one end acts as a valve. Even the mortar and pestle so efficient for removing husks from rice grains are derived from similar instruments of their homeland. Finally, when threshed grain is fanned in the wind, those wide, flat winnowing baskets used are like the ones known for centuries in Africa. In rice production blacks adapted their basic skills and work patterns to a different labor system, a process of cultural

creolization. Although the task system treated them as individuals, the strong helped the weak as they worked in groups, much as they had done in their homeland.

To the Charlestonian it is not a meal without rice. In a ritual practiced in Sierra Leone and in the sea islands, one first picks out any dirt or dark grains, and then washes the rice vigorously between the hands. The method of cooking it in South Carolina, described as early as 1756 by Eliza Lucas Pinckney, producing separate fluffy grains, is derived from Africa in contrast to the way in China. An imaginative use of spices by slave cooks was also in part inherited from Africa, and influenced whites.

Many blacks who live today where rice once held sway are descended from those who prepared the soil and grew and cooked the glistening grain beside the rolling tides of their West African homeland ages before.

A Dyeing Art: Indigo

The development of the dye indigo in South Carolina is, quite literally, a colorful story. Color, intimately woven into the fabric of our lives, has always fascinated mankind. Dyes predate history, add variety to clothes and homes, and signal social status, like the purple long known as the color of royalty.

Indigo, derived from a species of *Indigofera*, has been used for more than 4000 years. The shrubby legume, with pinnate leaves and dull reddish purple flowers, was known to the ancients of Asia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. While *I. tinctoria*, the best known species, a native of India, has been found in Senegal, *I. arrecta* is the more common variety indigenous to Africa.

Before European contact indigo was known to the Kanuri dyers of the Cameroun who carried it from Bornu to the region of Lake Chad. Fulani were also responsible for its spread in West Africa. An official at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast reported in 1766 that, "There is a Sort of Indigo grows wild here that the Natives make use of and is of a very lasting dye."

Lieutenant-Colonel George Lucas, stationed in Antigua, brought his sick wife to Charles Town for her health in 1738. When he returned to the West Indies, he put his 16-year-old daughter Eliza in charge of his plantation on the Wappoo, a salt creek connecting the Ashley with the Stono River. Eliza was an unusually bright, energetic, strong-minded, young lady who began immediately experimenting with crops that would grow best in the sandy, fertile soil of coastal Carolina. Arising at five each morning, she found time not only for agriculture but also for extensive reading, music, needlework, and writing, including those letters that record her work and thoughts.

By July, 1739, she mentioned in a letter to her father "the pains I had taken to bring Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, and Lucerne (an alfalfa) and Casada (cassava?) to perfection, and had greater hopes from the Indigo – if I could have the seed earlier the next year from the West India's – than any of ye rest of ye things I had tryd."

The actual process of making dye from the leaves of the plants is tricky and requires patient work. The leaves must be soaked in water until they ferment, froth, and give up their coloring matter, a process that can take several days, when the head man or "Indigo Maker" must watch day and night. The liquid is then drained off into a second vat clear of leaves where it is beaten with paddles until it begins to thicken. After it is led into a third vat and allowed to settle, the sediment is formed into lumps or cakes and dried. Dissatisfied with the product turned out by a white overseer, Eliza soon found where the fault lay and reported greater success when Governor Lucas sent her a black man from one of the French islands.

Eliza devoted virtually the whole crop of indigo of 1744 to making seed which she gave to planters. By 1747 enough indigo was produced to export it for sale to England. Aided by a bounty paid by the British to exclude the competing French, planters could double their capital every three to four years.

Indigo flourished as one major staple of the colony for some thirty years. Combined with walnut, it was the chief plant for dyeing cloth. Just before the American Revolution the annual export was an incredible 1,107,660 pounds. The loss of the British bounty after the Revolution, the cheaper labor in the Indies, and the easier cultivation of cotton led to its demise by the end of the century. While there is no proof that Africans were deliberately imported for their knowledge of indigo, many were clearly experienced in the production and use of the dye in their homeland.

How rice and indigo culture complemented each other and compounded the labor of the black worker is indicated by this comment by Governor Glen in 1761. "But I cannot leave this subject without observing how conveniently and profitable, as to the charge of Labour, both Indigo and Rice may be managed by the same Persons, for the Labour attending Indigo being over in the Summer Months, those who were employed in it may afterwards manufacture Rice in the ensuing Part of the Year, when it becomes most laborious; and after doing all this, they will have some Time to spare for sawing Lumber and making Hogsheads, and other Staves to supply the Sugar Colonies."

The productivity of the colony and the richness and diversity of its goods is illustrated by the dozen most lucrative commodities exported from the Port of Charles Town from November, 1747, to November, 1748 (see table “12”). Only the skin of the ubiquitous deer could compete with rice and indigo in worth. Many other items of field and forest were also exported, including "Pease," Oranges, Butter, a little silk, and even cotton that would in time dominate the economy of the whole South.

Magic Thread: Cotton

That ball of shiny white fiber that supplies three-fourths of the clothing of the world has been known for millennia. The domestication of Old World tree cotton (*Gossypium arboreum*) probably began in East Africa before 2500 B. C. Shrub cotton (*G. herbaceum*) was first cultivated in West Africa; textiles made from it were woven there by the end of the first millennium A. D. Kano in Nigeria has been a cotton market since the ninth century, and cotton cloth was brought from the Guinea coast to England in the sixteenth century.

Of the two best known commercial species of modern times, Upland cotton (*G.hirsutum*), first domesticated in Mesoamerica, has short, coarse fibers that cling to itsgreen seeds so that hand separation is impractical. Sea-island cotton (*G. barbadense*), first cultivated in South America, has long, thin, lustrous, silky fibers, readily separated from its black seeds, that make the finest fabrics. Both species, disseminated by the Spanish into Spain and by the Portuguese into Africa, soon replaced Old World cotton. The sea islands of Carolina and Georgia, with 280 frost-free days a year, has the ideal sandy soil, temperature, rainfall, and labor necessary for the growth of long-staple cotton, so much in demand.

Just exactly when and how an annual long-staple cotton, able to grow on long summer days, came to the sea islands is open to debate. In the most appealing account, Frank Levett in Georgia received bags of cotton seeds from Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1786. Desiring the bags more than the seeds, he dumped them out on a dunghill, found plants growing there the following spring, continued their cultivation, and was pleased to find instant popularity of the product in London. Yet Alexander Bisset is said to have grown the first crop of long-staple cotton on a sea island of Georgia from seed from Bahama as early as 1778. The first attempt to grow the product in South Carolina was made on Burden's Island in 1788; the first successful crop was grown by William Elliott on Hilton Head in 1790.

Cotton cultivation was labor intensive, requiring back-breaking work year around. A visitor to Cannon's Point plantation on St. Simons Island, Georgia, in 1828 described the process. In January and February, workers had to manure the fields; in March, they planted the seed. After the clusters of plants sprouted, the slaves thinned them with hoes, and in the hot summer months they weeded the surviving plants six to eight

times. After "topping" the cotton to limit the upward growth in August, slaves began picking the ripe bolls through October, often 100 pounds a day. Beginning in November and continuing into the next year, the seeds were removed from the lint by hand; after picking out trash, the laborers hand packed the cotton lint into bags.

The demand for sea-island cotton is illustrated by the record of its export from South Carolina in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In 1790, 9,840 pounds were sent forth from the newly created state; by 1801, the export rose to 8,301,907 pounds. It continued to be a powerful economic force for many years, reaching its height of production in 1819. As the value of indigo declined, sea-island cotton took its place alongside rice as a major crop for export. Into the twentieth century, cotton factors (including this writer's paternal grandfather and great grandfather) were busy shipping the
valuable cargo to northern states and to England from the wharves of Charleston, Beaufort, and Savannah.

Despite its fine qualities, long-staple cotton declined in production as the short staple variety increased. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made the upland plant profitable almost anywhere. Sea-island required more labor, cost twice as much, and was more vulnerable to the ravages of the boll weevil. By the 1860s one hundred times as much upland as sea-island cotton was produced throughout the country.

"King Cotton" came to dominate the economy and the politics of the whole south as black labor picked white bolls from the Atlantic shore to the vast and rich soil of Texas. While there is no proof that native Africans were deliberately imported for their knowledge of cotton growing, both upland and sea-island species were grown in Africa during the slave trade. Economic pressure drove blacks of the Low Country to labor to produce plants their ancestors had known and enjoyed in their homeland.

Under the task system on the sea islands each slave was given a specific assignment, such as picking three acres of cotton a day. During the peak of a harvest season the "work day" could last into the night, but when the task was light one had free time in the afternoon to hunt, fish, or garden. This time off, rather than the work day alone, shaped and preserved the culture of the Gullah-speaking people.

While rice, indigo, and sea-island cotton were the big three of the economy of coastal South Carolina for more than a century, they do not exhaust the long list of crops cultivated by black labor, some of them imported from Africa. Ships were provisioned on both sides of the Atlantic; cultigens from each side, brought to the other, were often deliberately grown there. African plants enriched the soil of Carolina as bondsmen provided a botanical bond between two continents.

Trans Plants as Food

Africa is home to many life-sustaining crops, including nine cereals, half a dozen root crops, five oil-producing plants, a dozen forage crops, a dozen vegetables, three fruits and nuts, coffee, sesame, and the ancient and ubiquitous bottle gourd or calabash useful as a drinking cup, float for fishnet, or sound box for music. West Africa alone is the locus of origin of cereals such as Guinea millet, *fonio*, African rice, pearl millet, and sorghum (Guinea corn); cowpeas; okra; some species of yam; oil palm, and the akee apple, as well as some varieties of Old World cotton.

Valuable plants were also imported into Africa from other continents. When Spanish and Portuguese galleons sailed between the Old World and the New, they carried more than people and treasure; they engaged in the greatest transport of plants and animals the globe has ever known.

Among nineteen species from Central and South America transplanted to Africa, none is more important for feeding humanity and has a more colorful history than corn or maize (*Zea mays*). Known from Mexico by 5000 B. C., it extended from Canada to southern Argentina at the time of European contact with the

Americas. As colonists learned from the Indians how to cultivate this major food crop, it became the bridge by which European civilization gained a foothold in the New World.

Brought by the Portuguese and Dutch from Guiana and Brazil, it was known on the coast of West Africa perhaps as early as 1502 and clearly by 1525. Names for maize in local languages correlate with its entrance through trading centers like Port Harcourt in Nigeria. By the seventeenth century, it was an important foodstuff from Liberia to the Niger Delta, especially on the Gold Coast and Dahomey; established as a valuable crop in
the Congo Basin and Angola; and significant for provisioning slave ships. Tobacco, peanuts, cacao, and beans, first grown in Latin America, also spread to Africa. Africans brought to South Carolina were thus familiar with cultivation of many useful crops.

Descriptions and illustrations of naturalists of the time, such as Catesby (1771), Barton (1798), and Elliott (1821), identify species known to African Americans. Of at least nineteen plants introduced by Africans into the Americas, most flourished in the West Indies, including some varieties of yams, the akee apple, the Angola or pigeon pea, broad beans, maroon cucumber, senna, bichy nut, and oil palm. At least six more were also brought into Carolina.

Best known from West Africa is that tasty mucilaginous vegetable, okra or gumbo (*Abelmoschus esculentus*). First domesticated in tropical Africa, it spread widely along the Guinea coast and into the Cameroons by the time of the slave trade and was brought to the Americas in the 1600s. Words for it are found in many African languages Since "okra" is from *nkruman* in the language of the Gold Coast and "gumbo" is from *tshingombo* in Bantu languages, the popularity of this plant is evident. Benne seed, from a word in Bambara and Wolof, is also called sesame (*Sesamum indicum*). Probably first domesticated in East Africa, it was widespread on the continent at the time of the slave trade as a valuable source of oil. In 1730 Thomas Lowndes of South Carolina sent samples of oil made from "sesamum" to the Lords of the Treasury. Best known today on cookies or in candies, it was brought with blacks to Carolina where it was also used in soups and puddings.

The black-eyed or cow pea (*Vigna unguiculata*) is an import from West and Central Africa that found its way to the West Indies and the Low Country. First domesticated at the margin of the forest and savannah in tropical West Africa, its seeds are known from Kintampo in central Ghana as early as 1800 B. C. and at Zimbabwe in southeast Africa by 1000 A. D.; it flourishes especially in Ghana, Benin, and Nigeria today, and names for it are also found in many African languages. Introduced into the New World tropics by the Spanish no later than the seventeenth century to supply towns and missions, it was known in the southern United States by the early eighteenth century.

The circular route of the peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*) is unique. Taken from Brazil to Africa around 1500 by the Portuguese, it established a secondary center in the Congo; was cultivated in Senegambia in the 1560s, and was widespread in West Africa by 1600. Fed to slaves on ships to Virginia, peanuts spread to South Carolina.

Eggplant (*Solanum melongena*) originally cultivated in India, was brought by Arabs into Spain and by Persians into Africa before the arrival of Europeans. Widespread from Senegal to Cameroun, it is known not only as a food but also as a medicine and as a symbol of fertility.

Watermelon (*Citrullus lanatus*), a native of the dry savannah of east and south Africa, was grown in the Nile valley by 2000 B. C. Brought by Spanish colonists to Florida in 1576, it was enthusiastically accepted by the Indians who passed seeds from tribe to tribe like smoke signals; by 1600 it was known all the way to the Pueblos of the southwest. Abundant in the British colonies by 1650, it was grown in Carolina by 1671.

Guinea corn or sorghum, first domesticated in the Central Sudan and distributed to West Africa probably before 1000 B. C., was cultivated in South Carolina by blacks at one time, according to the eighteenth century botanist Catesby: "*Milium indicum*, bunched guinea corn...But little of this grain is propagated, and that chiefly by the Negroes, who make bread of it, and boil it in like manner of furmety. Its chief use is for feeding fowls, for which the smallness of the grain adapts it... *Panicum indicum*, spiked Indian corn, smaller grains than the precedent, used for feeding fowl. These two grains are rarely seen but in plantations of Negroes who brought it from Guinea, their native country."

The fate of yams, so important in a religious festival on the Guinea coast, is a special problem. Several species, including *Dioscorea alata*, the winged or bacara yam from Asia, as well as native African yams, were introduced into the West Indies through the provisioning of ships. But at least one kind, a white yam, *D. rotundata*, also grew on the mainland colony; Catesby reported that "Carolina is the farthest North I have seen them grow and more for curiosity than advantage ...few think them worth propagating."

Africans brought to South Carolina were thus familiar with the cultivation of at least fifteen crops, almost half of which had been domesticated in their homeland (see table “13”). To pinpoint one place of origin in Africa of plants imported with the slave trade into Charleston is virtually impossible, for they grew over too wide a territory. The evidence points to a major role of West Africa from Gambia through Nigeria, but does not exclude some influence from Central Africa as well. These plants also illustrate the role of the West Indies in connecting Africa to the sea islands.

More significant than any particular plants actually brought from Africa into the colony is the combination of the natives’ familiarity with techniques of cultivation of similar vegetation in the Old World and the opportunity to try them on plants in the New. Yes, most of their labor was forced, directed toward producing for the master. But in the garden, permitted by the task system, and in exploration of field and forest, the experience and the innovation of African Americans made a contribution to horticulture and agriculture. Again, they adapted and modified Old World crops and techniques in a process of creolization, and spread valuable knowledge to whites as well. Nowhere did the heritage of Africa and the creativity of its people in their new environment show more than in their use of plants in treating their ailments.

Healing Herbs

Do you have a cold and cough with congestion and fever? Pick the annual herb "life everlasting," boil its leaves, stem, and yellow flowers, add another plant like pine tops or mullein or sea myrtle, to make one of the most popular cold remedies in South Carolina. Some say it will also relieve cramps, diseases of the bowels, and pulmonary complaints, and promote general well being. The dried plant is smoked for asthma, the leaves and flowers are chewed for quinsy, the crumbled leaves relieve toothache, and a bath of it eases foot pains. Some people today buy it in the City Market in Charleston and take it to friends in New York.

Life everlasting (*Gnaphalium polycephalum)* is only one of about 100 plants used by the citizens of the Low Country for centuries for healing aches and pains, the use of many of them derived from ancient traditions of the Old World. Left to themselves to cope with illness, blacks of Tidewater Carolina of necessity combined the lore of Africa with the plants of their new habitat, often drawing upon the craft of the Indians as well. The cures they devised were similar to medicines of white settlers of the times, but usually with this difference: the blacks, like the Native Americans, generally made decoctions from one, or at most two, living plants, while the whites relied more on a mixture of chemical substances derived from five or six plants. Yet there was cross fertilization; both blacks and whites built upon the experience of the Indian. The popular use of wild black cherry for coughs by European Americans and blackberry for diarrhea among African Americans are well known examples of such borrowing.

The cause of illness was perceived by the blacks of the sea islands as natural, occult due to conjuring, or spiritual due to one's sins. The remedy must fit the cause, but it was not always easy to distinguish among

them. The conjurors's hex could produce physical ailments and behavioral problems, while the wages of sin and the power of the devil could best be mitigated by the preacher. Fortunately the root doctor was the herbalist as well and assisted in alleviating both natural and occult disease. He knew what plant to gather, when and where, what part to use, and how to prepare the concoction. No wonder he wielded great influence among the sea islanders, for his powers generated dependency and fear. Many women also learned the art of collecting medicinal plants and preparing cures from them, and passed on their skill to their own daughters as well as to whites.

Most drugs were plant products, and the botanist was also pharmacist. As early as 1806 John Shecut published in *Charleston Flora Carolinaensis* with the "medical virtues" as well as full descriptions and illustrations of many species of the state. In 1847 Dr. Francis Peyre Porcher in his *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests* recorded some 600 species of botanical resources available for healing in the South (1863), and in 1869 he enlarged his findings. Two recent botanists, Faith Mitchell and Julia Morton, drawing upon such early volumes as well as their own first-hand observations and interviews, produced books on the plant remedies still in use on the sea islands.

Several different herbs were employed to combat one illness and many different complaints were treated with the same plant. Tannin-rich astringents, like the leaves of sweet gum, myrtle and blackberry, were invaluable in treating the all-too-common profuse diarrhea and dysentery; bitterness was prized in searching for a cure for ever- present malaria. More than a dozen plants were used to treat colds, a dozen more for fever; a half dozen were applied to sores and as many again were taken as tonics, considered especially beneficial when whiskey was added. Galax was recommended for high blood pressure; sweet gum relieved stomach pains; kidney weed was a diuretic; and swamp grass made an excellent poultice.

As snakebite was common, several plants were recommended as an antidote including the leaves of American aloe and the root bark of the Angelica tree, both known to blacks as "rattlesnake master." In the 1700s a slave named Caesar was given his freedom and 100 pounds per annum for life by the General Assembly as a reward for discovering a cure for those who were bitten by a rattlesnake or who had swallowed poison. This knowledge was a two-edged sword, for blacks could use plant poison against their masters, and some did.

No plant was so popular as sassafras whose roots were used to make tea as a tonic. Whites adopted it for treating rheumatism and high blood pressure; blacks said that a tea from white sassafras roots would cure blindness. Early in American history it was exported to England for colic, venereal disease, and general pain. Combined with mare's milk, it was used as an eye wash.

Both male and female problems are said to be helped by herbs. Horse nettle (*Solanum carolinense*) has long had a great reputation as an aphrodisiac; both stinging nettle (*Cnidoscolus stimulosus*) and ironweed (*Sida rhombifolia*) give a man "courage," *i.e.*, sexual potency. Cotton root was the most widely used abortifacient among slave women, and many other parts of the plant were used as medicines.

A surprising number of food plants, especially fruits, also yielded products used to treat disease. Fig, peach, pomegranate, persimmon, along with basil, okra, and pumpkin, found their way into the pharmacological lore of the sea islands. No line can be drawn between folk medicine and the scientific medicine of the time; of fifty species listed by Mitchell, a dozen were in the *US Pharmacopeia* or *National Formulary* or both from 1820 into the present century, including mint, blackberry, wild black cherry, elderberry, galax, jimson weed, pine tar, poker root, and sassafras.

Relating medicinal plants of South Carolina to those of Africa is difficult, as similar but not identical species are often found, and some were used by Indians long before the arrival of blacks. Medicine and religion are so intertwined that it is hard to draw a line between plants with a sound scientific basis for their

action, and those that drive out an evil spirit. Of the vast number of herbs and shrubs long tried in Africa for healing, hundreds have a proven action, and some have found their way into western medicine.

By trial and error African natives learned which plants were useful for a wide range of ailments from cramps and coughs to wounds and worms. Medicine men applied emollients, purgatives, antihelmintics, diuretics, anodynes, sedatives, and narcotics; they also used a wide range of poisons for deadly arrow tips and for trial by ordeal. African willow (*Salix capensis*), a source of salicylic acid, is used throughout the continent to treat rheumatism. The scientific name of the tree musenna, *Albizia antihelmintica*, suggests its efficacy in treating tapeworms. Some plants are deliberately cultivated for their medicinal use, like sweet flag (*Acorus calamus*) as a topical ointment, the castor bean (*Ricinus communis*) as a purgative, and the chinaberry (*Melia azedarach*) as a vermifuge. Many are actually major exports like gum arabic (*Acacia* sp.) and aloes, the two most important drug plants in Africa.

The fig (*Ficus carica*) is a classic example of a plant used in Africa as both food and medicine. The fruit serves as a cathartic and a dressing for skin lesions, the leaves are used for indigestion, and the tannin-rich bark relieves diarrhea and expels worms. Some well known spices also have medicinal properties, like Kola as a tonic, Guinea cloves for dysentery, Cayenne pepper as a carminative, and Grains of Paradise as a vermifuge.

Catalogues of medicinal plants of Africa, with focus on the Guinea Coast, along with their pharmacology, provide the basis of comparison with those of the Low Country. At least fourteen plants, said to have some healing properties, are in use in South Carolina and in West Africa. Although most of the items are employed to treat more than one condition, the same plant is often used in the same way on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus, wormseed and the chinaberry tree are taken as a vermifuge, especially against *Necator americanus* or hookworm. The crushed flowers of okra are applied to snakebites, and cotton is used for abortion or uterine contraction in the Old World and in the New. Nightshade, taken for fever in the Low Country and in Africa, has known antibacterial action. Jimson weed, used as a vermifuge, cold medicine, and salve in Carolina, is taken as a narcotic in West Africa; it spurs Fulani youth on to bold deeds of conquest and ordeal. Over a century ago Porcher recognized its narcotic and antispasmotic effects and reported "maniacs frequently restored to perfect saneness of mind, which they never afterward lost, by the continuous use of the extract."

Basil, taken for colds and other ailments, and pomegranate, used to stop diarrhea, in South Carolina, are best known as antihelmintics in West Africa; pumpkin, taken for dropsy as a diuretic, is also used to treat worms there. Porcher says of sedge: "In Guinea this is considered one of the remedies for worms;" but he mentions no application of the plant in his own state. The frequency of antihelmintics and vermifuges underscores the abundance of worms on both sides of the Atlantic, both culprit and cure the offspring of the slave trade.

More important than the same species in linking Africa to the sea islands is the similar way in which these plants are regarded in the art of healing, and the beliefs surrounding them. The traditional and ancient Doctrine of Signatures holds that nature provides a plant remedy for every disease and indicates an obvious sign for its use. The liver-shaped leaves of Hepatica should be valuable in treating disease of the liver; a plant with heart-shaped leaves should be useful in treating cardiac problems. Plants with big fruits aid fertilization, plants with latex increase milk production, and those whose stems have swollen joints and bend like a knee are good for sprained knees. In South Carolina the spots on the leaves of the trumpet root (*Sarracenia minor*) are regarded as a sign that the plant is a good remedy for skin troubles.

Medicinal plants with common use on both sides of the Atlantic, along with that deep-seated and long-continued habit of picking certain herbs to make a concoction when accident and illness strike, make the connection between Africa and Carolina undeniable.

The many ailments and the limited medical treatment available made such therapy a necessity. Modified in an ongoing process of adaptation, home remedies made from plants continued among the Gullah people because of both their practical and psychological value.

The continuity, re-creation, and adaptation of Africans to the Low Country is nowhere more vividly expressed than in their speech. The Gullah language reveals more about their specific origins than any trait considered thus far. The people must be heard in their own words for both the source of their speech and its creolization over time to be fully appreciated.

Chapter 4. *The Gullah Language*

"Uh yeddy um but uh ain sheum."
An outsider would be understandably bewildered if he heard a native of the sea islands say this--and surprised to learn that it meant "I have heard of him but I haven't seen him." Many words and phrases equally obscure to the visitor have been the everyday speech of the black people of the region as long as anyone can remember. It is not all one-sided; a coastal black on hearing the English of the northern visitor said: "Dey use dem mout' so funny."

Isolated since the early eighteenth century, slaves and their descendants developed their own language marked as much by its rhythm, tempo, and stress as by its vocabulary and grammar. The uninflected verb shows no tense; the pronouns show no gender; and reduplication of words intensifies meaning and expresses magnitude and excitement. The word “Gullah” is probably derived from Angola, although some cite the Gola tribe of Liberia.

The earliest students considered it a survival of the simplified English in which white owners addressed their black servants, and almost nothing African remained. The discovery of the extent of the African heritage in Gullah had to await the work of a scholar of unique attributes -- training, knowledge, patience, and pigmentation.

Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect
Lorenzo Dow Turner was a black linguist whose skin color gave him entree to the Gullah speakers on the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia. For several years, beginning in 1932, he lived among them, listening, recording, and writing their speech in the phonetic alphabet, and then comparing it with that of the people of West Africa, a study spanning fifteen years in all. In addition to his own knowledge, dictionaries, and grammars, he relied upon twenty-seven informants who knew together at least sixteen African languages.

The result of his labor, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949), changed thinking not only about the speech of that coastal people but also about the linguistic heritage of African Americans in general. He listed 3595 personal names with their similarities to terms in African languages, 251 other words used in conversation, and some 92 expressions heard only in stories, songs, and prayers. He described the syntax, morphological features, word formation, sounds, and intonations that characterize Gullah.
Finally Gullah texts were printed both in phonetics and in the English equivalent. White scholars had evidently failed to recognize African antecedents in Gullah partly because the vast majority of Turner's words are personal names used only in the privacy of the family and partly because they knew little or nothing of African languages. (To avoid the complex symbols of the international phonetic alphabet that Turner uses, a rough equivalent in the English alphabet is substituted in the subsequent discussion.)

To follow Turner's Africanisms it is necessary to turn back to the languages of Africa. Of thirty-two languages of West and Central Africa classified by Greenberg and by Guthrie (see table “15”), all except five are considered by Turner as influencing Gullah; at least seventeen are spoken by more than one million

people today. All except Songhai in Mali, Djerma in Niger, and Hausa in northern Nigeria are in the great Niger-Congo group.

What's in a Name?
African languages come alive in the sea islands in names and naming practices. Most Gullah-speaking people have two kinds of given name; one used in school and among strangers is English, the other is the basket name or nickname, "nearly always a word of African origin... In many instances both the given-name and surname are African words." To the African the power to name is the power to control. Even when the Gullah name is English it follows African naming practices, like those of the Twi, Dahomeans, Mandingo, Yoruba, Ibo, tribes of northern Nigeria, and the Ovimbundu of Angola.

Almost universally in Africa a child has at least two given names, bestowed by an intriguing array of circumstances. Widespread is the practice of naming the baby for the day of the week; the month, or season of its birth, birth order, or one of a pair of twins. Conditions at birth such as feet foremost, head presentation, born of a prolonged pregnancy, or with the cord or caul about the neck, are well known sources of names among the Dahomeans especially. The first child born after twins, or after one with a caul, combines two concepts in one name.

In addition to individual names, the Mandingo, among others, stress clan names, the descendants of a real or mythical ancestor, such as a crocodile. Animals, plants, or places inspire a cognomen, especially among the Twi and tribes of northern Nigeria. Among several groups a new, second name is given upon a special occasion. Among the Mandingo, the mother gives each child at birth a temporary name determined by its sex and birth order, which a few days later can be replaced by another. This True Name often reflects an attribute of a relative, the name of a divinity, the day of the week, or a circumstance of birth, such as bili, meaning curvature, because the baby's body was bent double. Other special names may be added to this later in life. The Moslem Mandingo often use names from the Koran, a son of the Prophet or of a Caliph, or from the Bible, such as the Arabic for Abraham or Isaac.

The Yoruba frequently give an appellation at birth indicating the circumstances, such as along a wayside or during a festival or with extra digits. In addition the child is given a "christening" name, often with religious or emotional connotation, such as "Ogun (a god) consoles me with this," or "Joy enters our house." The first name given is often considered secret lest some supernatural power knowing it could harm the child. Among the Hausa this name is whispered into the ear of the new-born; only a second name is in daily use.

To read the Gullah personal names listed by Turner is a fascinating entree into the secret life of the sea island black people as well as a convincing argument for African affinity. For each of them are "West African words that are phonetically identical with or strikingly similar to them [with] several meanings the words have in a number of West African languages."

Examples from nineteen African languages in a dozen categories illustrate the colorful and creative usage of words in naming children. Time, date, or season is expressed in many of these Gullah names in the twentieth century as it was in the eighteenth. *Aba* (Fante) indicates a girl born on Thursday, *ajowa* (Ewe) one born on Monday. *Bimbi* (Fula) means early morning, *marece* (Hausa) the late afternoon, and *klema* (Mandingo) the hot season. *Ali* (Mandingo) is a name given the fifth male child, and *ata* (Twi) is the male of twins. *Olugbodi* (Yoruba) is bestowed upon a child born with extra digits.

Appearance is reflected in many of these basket names. In Yoruba, *adu* refers to one who is very black, *arupe* to dwarf, and *pele* to tribal marks on the face. *Dafa* for fat literally means mouth full in Vai.The body is a common source of names along the coast. *Juso* (Mandinka) is similar to the word for liver; *sisi* (Twi), the lower part of the back; *kowa* (Mende), a large stomach; and *ebeni* (Kongo), the breast. Sex is reflected

here as well. In Kongo, *lonzo* means inordinate sexual desire; *yonga,* to copulate; and *wilama*, to be pregnant.

Various diseases are represented in this lexicon. *Kurang* (Mandinka) means to be ill, *kungo* (Bambara) hysteria, *pitsi* (Ewe) leprosy, and *bombo* (Mende) smallpox. Perhaps such illnesses could be cured by *ingkishi* (Kongo), a charm or medicine, or by *wanga* (Umbundu), witchcraft.

As in Africa, animals and plants are represented. *Esa* (Umbundu) is corn and *jaba* (Bambara) onion; *begbe* (Mende) means a frog and *beyi* (Wolof) a goat. Many names reflect actions or feelings; *buri* (Mandinka) means to run; *keniya* (Kongo) to grin; *kambalala* (Kongo) to pass a hill along its base in order to avoid climbing. Emotion shines through the word *ayoka* (Yoruba), one who causes joy everywhere; a bond of affection appears in *fabere* (Mandingo), a generous father; and *sabinya* (Bobangi) is to forgive.

Most impressive are personal names that show an African connection through some place or thing unique to that continent. *Asante* (or *Ashanti*) in Twi means the country, people, and language of the Gold Coast, and *Ga* refers to a tribe of that region. Several cities of Africa are remembered as well: *Loanda* in Angola and *Wida* (Whydah) in Dahomey. *Nago* is the Fon name for the Yoruba language of southern Nigeria. Kings of Dahomey during the slave trade are recalled: Akaba ruled from 1680 to 1708, and Agbaja from 1708 to 1729. *Uzebu* (Bini) refers to the quarters of the chief at Benin City; Totela is the title of the kings of Kongo; and Muzumbu is a foreign minister in Angola. Islamic influence is present in several words: *Aluwa* (Wolof) is a tablet in wood on which one writes verses of the Koran; *Hadijata* (Mandingo) is the first wife of Mohammed. Various African legends enrich Gullah names: *Akiti* is a famous hunter in Mandinka folklore who, by conquering the elephant, became king of the bush. The secret societies characteristic of Sierra Leone link the two worlds: *Poro* for boys and *Sande* for girls (Mende).

Equally impressive bridges are the names of species of plants and animals found only in Africa. *Afo* (Yoruba) is the baobab tree; *akodu* (Ewe) is the banana. *Bambo* or crocodile is the totem of a Mandinka clan; *dile* (Mende) is a boa constrictor. *Boma* is a black python, and *pong*i (both Kongo), for chimpanzee, gave rise to the scientific name of another great ape, the orang.

In some cases a master recorded an African name as he understood it from his own European heritage; thus, *Keta*, a common name in Yoruba, Hausa, and Bambara, became Cato; the Mandingo name *Haga* became Hagar. As slave families grew and blacks chose their own names, the concept of kinship, so central to the African way of life, was reflected in their practices. Frequently a child was named for a grandparent. In Africa, while the relationship of a parent to a child might be a harsh one of superordinate to subordinate, their authority was checked by a gentle grandparent who maintained a more friendly familiarity.

That African names and naming practices still live on is shown by ninety-eight nicknames on Johns Island. Some thirty-one are related to a name found in Turner's list with an African equivalent, but a few are newly found Africanisms. Do-um, suggesting "do it," was earned for assiduous application to an endeavor and audacity in sexual adventures. Cunjie with very broad cheek bones may have come from the Hausa word for cheek. *Yaa* for a girl and *Yao* for a boy, meaning Thursday, keeps alive the Ewe practice for naming a baby for the day of the week on which it was born. Even an English- appearing name like Joe may be an abbreviation of *Cudjo*, a male born on Monday. Similarly, Phoebe may really be *Fiba*, a girl born on Friday. Gussie may not be from Augustus but from the *Bambara gasi*, meaning misfortune; and Pompey is not necessarily the famed Roman general but the Mende name *kpambi,* meaning a line, course, or red handkerchief. A derogatory term, such as *Boogah*, meaning something frightful in Vai, or Nuttin, for nothing, seems strange until one recalls the African practice of giving an uncomplimentary name to the newborn so that the ancestors might not be jealous and take the child back.

Even an English nickname follows the African practice of noting appearance, personality, or relationship. Thus Blue or Shadda (Shadow) are assigned to those quite dark in skin color. One named Licky-too defeated an antagonist both in verbal and physical combat; Butcher is a big, aggressive man ready to slaughter one who offends him; and Prosper was conferred on one distinguished and successful member of the community. Kinship is cherished through nicknames today. Bubba is the equivalent of the English brother; Betsy Ben indicates that Ben is the son of Betsy; and Minna Bill is the nickname for Minna's grandson Bill. Yes, there is even Do-um Bubba, the younger brother of Do-um.

Counting African Connections

Identification of a word in an African language most similar to a word in Gullah permits an initial estimate of the linguistic influences on the sea island dialect. African languages with the number and frequency of all Gullah personal names that Turner found to resemble each of them is revealing (see table "16"). Yoruba is in first place in personal names, followed closely by Kongo; with Mende and Ewe; these four contribute half of the linguistic similarities of personal names. Added to Bambara, Twi, Vai, Hausa, Fon, Umbundu, Mandinka, and Kimbundu, the twelve account for 87 percent of all Gullah names. Grouped by regions, roughly 44 percent are from people clustered around the Bight of Benin and Gold Coast--far more than represented by the direct slave import from this area, 26 percent from Congo and Angola, 16 percent from Senegambia, and 14 percent from Sierra Leone and Windward Coast.

But a similar sound does not prove a linguistic derivation; personal names could be fossilized forms remembered when their meaning is lost. The 251 words cited by Turner as used in conversation must also be examined for indications of African affinities. Many of these common words have entered everyday American speech. Benne seed candy or cookie is derived from the word for sesame in Wolof and in Bambara. *Bidibidi* for a small chicken in Kongo is no doubt the source of our word "biddy." Cooter is about as well known in many parts of the South as turtle or tortoiswhich it means in Bambara, Malinke, Efik and Tshiluba.

Buckra, long known on the coast for white man, means he who surrounds or governs in Ibo and in Efik. Da, often heard in the Carolina Low Country for an elderly black woman, is mother or eldest sister in Ewe and eldest daughter in Ibo. Gumbo is the well known name for a soup with okra in it; tshingombo in Tshiluba and Umbundu means okra. Goober from nguba in Kimbundu and pinder from mpinda in Kongo are widely recognized as other words for peanut. The yam or sweet potato of America has the same name in Mende and a similar one in other West African tongues.

Could *shindu*, noise made by the feet in Gullah and in Kongo, have given rise to shindig? In Tshiluba *samba* means to jump about; in Bobangi *somba* means to dance the divination dance; and in still other Bantu languages its meaning is related to worship. Voodoo, the religious healing ritual well known in Haiti, with a counterpart of Hoodoo in
Gullah, is from *vodoo*, a tutelary diety or demon in Ewe, and a good or bad spirit in Fon. The shout, a religious ring dance performed until exhaustion in some black churches, could be related to the Arabic word *shaut* which means to move around the Kaaba on the pilgrimage to Mecca until exhausted. Arabic, the heritage of Moslem slaves, was an influence in the tabby house along the coast, made of cement and oyster shells with brick often added, for *tabix* means cement, mortar, brick.

In the frequency of conversational words in Gullah, listed by Turner (table "16"), Kongo leads overwhelmingly with ninety-nine words, 25 percent of the total. Far behind, with only 8 percent each, are Mende and Vai from Sierra Leone and Liberia. Wolof with 6 percent, spoken by many interpreters in West Africa, was even more widespread as a second language than as a native tongue. Strikingly, Yoruba, so prominent in personal names, makes a negligible contribution to other words.

The ninety-two words that Turner heard only in stories, songs, and prayers are derived almost exclusively from Mende, 69 percent, and from Vai, 29 percent; only a single exclamation is attributed to Bambara or Mandinka. This overwhelming influence from the Sierra Leone-Windward Coast region is noteworthy. If all words, personal and otherwise, are combined, the greatest similarities of Gullah are to Kongo and Yoruba with 15 percent each (table “16”, last column). Mende, Ewe, Bambara, Twi, Vai, Hausa, Fon, Umbundu, Mandinka, and Kimbundu follow in that order, these dozen languages comprising 86 percent of the total. Since names make up 91 percent of the total vocabulary this similarity to their frequency is not surprising.

Language is made up of more than words. Turner discovered affinities of Gullah to African languages in sounds and intonations, syntax and morphology, and unusual word formations illustrated below. One striking syntactical feature of Gullah is the absence of the passive voice. Instead of "he was beaten," it is "they beat him." Examples of the same practice in several African languages suggest their relationship to the sea islands. Two or more verbs for one idea is a second trait common to Gullah and some African languages: "Dat mek dem to save de money." Gullah also has an unfamiliar way of comparing adjectives: "He tall pas me," i.e., "He is tall, surpasses me," replaces "He is taller than I am." Eliding adjective and verb into one is common in Gullah and African tongues: e.g., "He mean tid dat" for "He was mean to do that." "Day clean broad" for "broad daylight," placing an adjective after the noun it modifies, is an example of word order that makes Gullah colorful and distinctive. "A child bad" or "tree high" or "I not see him" are other illustrations with African counterparts.

"Two baskets, what do they come to?" can be heard any day on the streets of Charleston. Opening a sentence with a subject and repeating it with a pronoun is an attribute of Gullah and African syntax. So is the frequent repetition of words or phrases. "I heard the house cracking, you know at the back; heard the house cracking, cracking, and I listened; kept listening."

Morphological features refer to number, tense, case, and gender. The same form in singular and plural is typical, e.g., "five dog." Verbs likewise may take the same form in singular and plural, without inflections; thus, "he go" and "they go." "I go, I went, I shall go," may also be indicated with the same phrase. When the patient tells the doctor, "I bees sick," she connotes both that she is, and has been, sick. For nouns and pronouns, subjective, objective, and possessive are almost the same: "me" or "we" could be used for all three cases. Thus, "We do everything for we-self." Gender can be expressed by the addition of "woman" or "man" to a noun: a "woman child" for a girl, or a "man chicken" for a rooster. When Gullah and African expressions are written side by side in phonetics the similarities are striking.

A-beat-on-iron can be heard in coastal Carolina for mechanic, one example of unusual word formation. Others include sure dead for cemetery; to crack teet' for to speak; and big eye for covetous. Reduplicated forms abound: sure enough sure for very sure; dere dere for exactly there, and bang bang for a loud noise. Among common onomatopoietic expressions is “who who” for owl.

The sounds of Gullah are similar to those of West or Central African languages rather than English. To the trained ear the vowel sounds of Gullah are not identical to those of English, but closer to those in several African languages. Another Gullah trait borrowed from Old World ancestors is adding a vowel or dropping a final consonant to avoid a cluster of consonants; palmetto becomes palimetto.

No characteristic of Gullah speech appears so strange to the outsider as its intonation. Gullah is not a tonal language in which a different tone conveys a different meaning, but its patterns are reminiscent of African languages that do. The difference in tone and inflection enabled slaves to use ambiguities of Gullah to conceal meanings from white masters but reveal them to their fellows. For example, the adjective bad, pronounced with a slow falling tone like baaad could be an expression of admiration for another slave who had successfully flouted Ole Maussa's rules.

Beyond words and grammar is the retention of whole proverbs from African languages, Hausa, Mandingo, Yoruba, Dahomean, Fante, and Bantu. "Chattering doesn't cook rice" among the Hausa becomes "Promisin' talk don' cook rice" in coastal Carolina. "Empty sack can't stand upright alone" is almost identical to a Mandingo expression. Dahomey "Crooked wood makes crooked ashes" is transformed in Gullah into "Onpossible to get straight wood from crooked timber."

The frequency of Turner's citations of twenty-three African languages for six attributes of sound and grammar of Gullah provides a clue to affinities, even though they are not precise or of equal value. The pattern that emerges bears only modest resemblance to that from vocabulary alone. High on the list are Ewe with 17 percent of the total, chiefly because of its contribution to phonetics, Yoruba with 14 percent, Ibo with 11 percent, and Twi with 8 percent. These four, which show affinities to half of the non-vocabulary features of Gullah, are followed by Efik and Fante. Notably, all six of these languages are spoken in the area from the Gold Coast through Nigeria, while Kongo and other speech of Central Africa play a minimal role in sounds or grammar. Surprisingly, Mende and Vai, which supply so much vocabulary to Gullah, are cited rarely for these other linguistic attributes. The texts in Turner, however, illustrate the relation of Gullah to both languages: Three Mende and two Vai songs, plus Mende expressions in three stories. In fourteen other tales African elements are said to be manifest in syntax, morphology, sounds, intonations, and word formation more than in vocabulary, but specific languages are not cited by Turner.

In summary, Ewe ranks high in its role in personal names, other words, grammar and sounds in Gullah. Yoruba, highest in personal names and high in syntax and sounds, contributes few other words to the sea island vocabulary. Kongo, highest in total vocabulary, appears to have less influence on the other features of language. Twi appears to be moderately influential in all linguistic features. Mende and Vai, with much input into vocabulary and entire stories, appear low in any grammatic or phonetic contribution to Gullah. Efik, high in similarity of intonation especially, makes only a negligible impression on names or other words along the Carolina-Georgia coast. Ibo, with so many tonal and syntactic similarities to Gullah, is negligible in its contribution to its vocabulary.

Any attempt to compare linguistic contributions of African coastal regions with their share of slave imports is fraught with many difficulties, linguistic, geographic, and historical, making conclusions tenuous. As critics point out, the same sounds may not convey the same meanings, and ritual terms in songs and prayers may not carry the same weight as other words. The relative input of total words from most regions bears little resemblance to its total direct slave importation. Words used only in conversation, however, yield a closer fit to importation data in almost every case with exact agreement
of 39 percent for Angola.

Comparison of the influence of sounds and syntax with slave trade importations is on weak grounds. However, the contribution of the languages spoken by people around the Bights of Benin and Biafra is far greater than their combined contribution to the direct slave trade, while that of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, and Angola is far less.

Scholarship following Turner's pioneer work has brought to light a greater role of the Bantu languages in vocabulary, an explanation for the influence of the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin on Gullah grammar, the relation of Gullah to other Atlantic Creole languages, and the process of creolization in their formation. The abundance of Angolans in the slave trade, their early arrival, their employment as field hands away from English, and the mutual intelligibility of Bantu languages probably contributed to the presence of Bantu words in Carolina and Georgia and later in American English.

Development of a Creole Language

To unravel the mystery of the source of Gullah, it is necessary to look beyond words, sounds, and syntax to history and the dynamics of language formation over time. Bilingualism arose along the West African coast with trading by the Portuguese as early as the mid fifteenth century and continued in succeeding centuries with the Dutch, French, and English. As far back as the late sixteenth century, English was spoken around the Gambia River; in time families were established between English men and native women. The need for communication in business as well as in the home led to the rise of a Pidgin English, such as that among grummettoes, the Africans who looked after slaves awaiting shipment. Pidgin has no native speakers; a marginal language, reduced in structure and vocabulary, it arises to fulfill certain restricted needs of communication among people who have no common language. Such restructured English, with words borrowed from other languages like Portuguese, increased dramatically in the eighteenth century, and Pidgin became established in Nigeria and the Cameroons. Creole refers to a Pidgin language which has become the mother-tongue of a speech community as in several ex-colonial parts of the world. The structural and stylistic range of the pidginized language becomes comparable in formal and functional complexity to other languages. Creole has an expanded vocabulary, explicit grammar, and more fixed pronunciation than Pidgin.

With the slave trade, Creoles developed from new social and cultural contacts in the New World. Africans from varying geographic and linguistic origins underwent language change arising from their need to communicate first with each other and secondarily with Europeans. This ongoing process of creolization was influenced by the plurality of African languages, the absence of formal tutoring, the exclusion of most blacks from close contact with the dominant European language, and the development of their own ethnic identity.

Many native West African languages with common features left a substratum in Creole languages; the basic syntactic structure of the Niger-Congo ones was transmitted to and remained in New World African dialects. In addition, many West African languages have common phonology; for example, the syllable typically ends in a vowel. But fluctuations in speech of African Americans in the formative period of a dialect are due primarily to differences in the phonological systems of native languages of Africans in the contact situation. These influences on Gullah are reflected in Turner's analysis.

Gullah is a unique Creole language, richer in linguistic survivals than any inland black speech. The case for a single ancestor of all English-based Creoles is clearly established by a recent analysis of six critical linguistic features common to them all. The special place of Gullah among English Creoles is probably due to differences in the size of plantations, the ratio of Europeans to Africans, the frequency of contacts between them and English-speaking indentured servants, and the degree of continued homogeneous African language influence.

Two major theories were proposed to account for Gullah. Hancock sees the greater influence of a Krio ancestor from Sierra Leone; Cassidy sees the larger role of the Gold Coast and adjacent Nigeria, via Barbados, as well as Angola. The similarities of Gullah to Krio were long noted by linguists in tales, songs, stories, prayers, names, and ritual terms. Cultural links between that region and the coastal islands also support the argument: the banjo, rice growing techniques, quilts, and more. The large number of slaves from Sierra Leone and Senegambia is said to be responsible for the development of Gullah. Dramatic support for this view came when Joseph Momo, President of Sierra Leone, speaking on St. Helena in his native language, was understood by the sea islanders. Even more impressive is the 1997 visit of sea islanders to Sierra Leone where the natives recognized their speech and responded warmly when Mary Moran from Harris Neck, Georgia, sang the same Mende funeral song that her grandmother had sung for Turner sixty years earlier.

But the value of personal names and items in stories, songs, and prayers has been questioned by Cassidy. Kept in memory by tradition rather than active use, are such fossilized forms more likely to be late comers?

Only the words in conversation and in texts, largely Nigerian, may be most significant for analysis. Even more important is the similarity Turner noted in the grammar of Gullah and that of languages of Southern Nigeria and the Gold Coast, for these, like the words in the texts, reflect the earlier layer, the underlying Pidgin. Linguistic and historic evidence indicate the transmission of Gold Coast speech, through Barbados especially, into Gullah and other Atlantic Creoles.

For understanding the roots of Gullah the two views are not as far apart as they appear. Probably arising on the Gold Coast in the 1630s, an English-based pidgin soon spread to other regions of Africa from Senegal to the Bight of Biafra. An expanded pidgin diffused to the New World as English and Dutch vessels delivered people from enclaves in Africa to all of the British possessions in the western hemisphere, where Barbados and Jamaica played a crucial role. Caribbean Creoles influenced Gullah from the beginning of the English settlement in South Carolina; linguistic streams from Africa and the West Indies continued to play upon the sea islands. Speech in each colony was shaped by African languages, variations in English dialects, the time of arrival of slaves, and the ratio of blacks to whites. African languages, modified, were kept alive in the West Indies and on the American mainland. Words and syntax from the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin especially persisted in the New World and found their way both directly and indirectly to the shores of Carolina where they formed one early substratum of Gullah. The early influx and later importation of people from Angola brought many words from Bantu, but complexities of its grammar probably prevented its adoption in the sea islands. With the tide of other people from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and on down the coast through the Bight of Biafra, came more words, and even whole stories. The basic lexicon, "deep structure" of grammar, and sounds of Creole were probably established in the early eighteenth century.

Then why did the natives of the sea islands understand the Krio of Sierra Leone,and why was the song of Mary Moran recognized there? Not because Gullah is derived directly and exclusively from that area but because their languages have a close common origin. Krio and Gullah are first cousins rather than mother and child. Language is dynamic; the child of history, it interacts continuously with its social setting. Gullah developed over time and also influenced the speech of others. Creole evolved in the Low Country from the need for communication, but it also helped the people to endure the harsh reality of slavery. More than any other attribute, it characterized and molded together the individuals of the sea island community forming an abiding bond of understanding among the slaves. An inflection in the voice, a change in tone, could convey to a fellow black a secret thought hidden from whites. Proverbs also conveyed subtleties and ambiguities that contributed to the survival of the people as they transmuted them into meaningful metaphors in their new environment. Songs, stories, and prayers, even with meanings obscure, kept alive dreams of a dimly remembered past. A basket name known only within the family could survive in the New World, providing a continuing link with the familiar gods, events, places, and traditions of the Old. Naming practices, like names themselves, live on to echo their heritage and often reinforce the uniquely African ties of kinship.

A similar process of continuity and change occurred in all aspects of culture and society. Just as Gullah and Krio are cousins, so the culture of the sea islanders and their African ancestors are related through a common heritage rather than as direct descendants. Subsequent chapters describe particular cultural traits that link the Low Country to Africa, search for their connections to specific regions of that continent, and explore their transformation over time. Consider first how the bonds of kinship, so dear to the African, were re-created and transformed on the sea islands.

Chapter 5. *Society and Culture*

"How many children you got?"
"Five," replied the woman on James Island, surrounded by children on the porch

and others in the yard.
"Come on, you've got more than that."
"Oh, you mean in all."
-- Conversation with author, June, 1957.
For research on inherited blood factors in the 1950s, an accurate pedigree was essential, but digging out relationships of individuals was complex and uncertain.

Blood is Thicker Than Water
Family throughout the sea islands has been the important but flexible social unit. The extended family of consanguineous relationships rather than the nuclear family of a single conjugal relationship prevails. Pedigrees reaching over several generations reveal an extensive network of kinship of people on one island. Divorce is rare, and marriage relatively stable, but it may be common-law, recognized in the community, rather than formal and legally sanctioned. In this setting illegitimacy is a meaningless term. A girl in her teens may have a baby—without marriage and without stigma. The child is usually given the surname of the girl's mother, cared for by her and other family members, and just as welcomed as a child born in wedlock who takes the father's surname.

Adoption further complicates family relationships; there is no objection to "giving" a child away to close relatives, who are glad to keep the child and bring it up as one of their own. A woman without children is socially handicapped. In these families of coastal Carolina, as in those of so many African Americans, the woman is the central and most stable member of the household. Elderly females or "mammies" function as matriarchs who teach children proprieties and family lore. The web of kinship documented for Johns Island, involving obligatory mutual responsibilities and the sharing of labor and resources, forms a cohesive force in the community and a strong weapon for survival. The extended family rises to the occasion with food and funds for weddings and funerals. Kinship, along with religion, provides social order, ethical direction, economic succor and emotional security. Where one belongs in the web of kinship is generally maintained by oral tradition; a young person's knowledge of his lineage can spell the difference between a warm and a chilly reception.

Kinship plays a role in the ownership of land. Cooperative organizations evolved among blacks in the sea islands after emancipation, following kinship lines as relatives purchased land near each other. To what extent are these social patterns an African heritage? Although slavery was said to have destroyed the nuclear family and social organization of American blacks, Herskovits found much evidence of African roots for family structure along with other elements of culture, and more recent observers concur. Throughout Africa polygyny prevails. A child shares his mother only with full brothers and sisters; he shares his father with the children of other women. The attachments between a mother and her child are in the main closer than those between father and children, and upbringing, discipline, and supervision are much more the responsibility of the mother than of the father. The belief that one is more closely related to mother than to father is explained among the Gullah as it is in West Africa: the person is fed on mother's milk. Matriarchy as practiced in the Low Country probably had roots in kinship patterns of African society, but was molded by modern economic pressures into a new pattern that fulfilled the unique needs of the people.

The extended family also has antecedents in Africa with parallels between its functions in the Old World and the New. The extended family on the sea islands of Carolina bears a remarkable resemblance to that among African people in their homeland and in the Caribbean, Central America, South America and elsewhere in North America. Similarly, adoption of children as a means of enlarging a family is widespread in Africa, and no stigma is attached to the man who "gives" a child to his sister or other relative. A segment of a lineage serves as a core of an extended family, and newlyweds do not establish a new residence but usually join the household of the husband. The politeness and deference to elders noted in the Gullah people can also be observed in Africa. Such practices, of great value to the people, were retained but

modified in their new setting. The removal of slaves from the plantation of their birth by sale to a distant master was less likely on the sea islands than elsewhere in the south, so the network of kinship dear to the African provided practical and moral support for adults and transmission of culture to children, in the face of the dehumanizing effect of slavery. In recent years young people from the islands, successful in the North, have returned to their parents' homes with new customs and values. Along with tourism, urbanization, industrial development, land sales, education, and civil rights, they are changing old ways. Yet some features of the past, like ties of kinship, matriarchy, and polygyny, deeply rooted in the traditions of Africa, still survive, not as a continuity with Africa but rather a synthesis of old and new in a process of social creolization.

No practice is more meaningful in the life of the sea island people, better illustrates how the different streams of influence flow together, and better reflects the synthesis of an ancient heritage with the culture imposed by the masters than religion.

God and Man: Religion
God is the bread of Life
God will feed you when you get hungry

The Rev. Renty Pinckney starts out slowly and softly in his sermon in the New Jerusalem AME Church on Wadmalaw Island. In sympathetic rhythm the audience shout out their response.

Oh yes! I know he will. All right! Yeah! Amen!
Look on the mountain
Beside the hill of Galilee My Lord!
Watch his disciple
Riding on the sea Yeah. Uh huh!
Tossing by the wind and rain Yeah. Come up
Going over the sea of temptation Uh hum
Brother, I don't know
But I begin to think
In this Christian life Yes
Sometime you gone be toss Yes, yeah
By the wind of life Yes, my Lord!
The wind gonna blow you
From one side to the other Yes!

In such point-counterpoint with his listeners the Rev. Pinckney proceeds, growing more eloquent, weaving into his sermon allusions to Moses, the wilderness, the consuming fire, and many other graphic passages from the Bible, and ending up with his opening figure of speech.

The minister's creativity is revealed by his ability to join scattered allusions into a cohesive whole. Well versed in the Bible, he uses the rhetorical skills needed to construct, in sermons and prayers, those long and flowing phrases worthy of Cicero. The call-and-response style with its appealing rhythm which arouses and excites the parishioners is the tradition in the sea island churches. Vital to the religious service is music. Voices singing in a joyous manner and the sound of clapping hands fill the church. Swinging, swaying, shaking bodies soon add even more enthusiastic expression to the fervor of song.

To know how much of the religious beliefs and practices of the Gullah are derived from Christianity, how much from the traditional religions of Africa, and how they interact, one must trace the history of the Protestant churches in the area and explore the major tenets and rituals of the people of Africa.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), the right arm of the Anglican church founded in 1701, sought to bring the Christian faith to the heathen, Indians and blacks, slave and free, but they were largely ineffective. George Whitefield, a controversial Anglican clergyman of twenty-five, laid the groundwork for Methodism on his first visit to Savannah in 1740. Methodist leaders organized white missions to slaves, stressed that Christianity, properly interpreted, could be a safeguard against rebellion, and created a warm and inspiring service of song and prayer. Low Country blacks had strong preferences for evangelicals whose new style of preaching was attractive because its shouting, swaying, and ecstasy reinforced the slaves' traditional patterns of spirituality.

As the once "dissenting" Baptists increased their numbers among the Low Country planters, blacks were in time admitted into balconies of their churches. By the 1830s "black societies" became the nucleus of the socio-religious community, and by the 1840s the Baptist persuasion clearly dominated the life of the Gullah. It had the greatest appeal for the sea island people because of its less formal worship, democratic and autonomous organization with a minimum of white supervision, appeal to the underprivileged, toleration of emotional expression, and emphasis upon baptism by total immersion – for a reason soon to be seen.

Blacks identified with the suffering Jesus, with His crucifixion and resurrection. The picture of the Children of Israel delivered by Moses, of Daniel in the Lion's Den, of David slaying Goliath were powerful images that gave blacks hope of freedom from bondage. Christianity gave an Old World ideology a New World perception as the Gullah people converted it to their African world view. To the African sense of pride and community, love of home and family, Christianity added a cohesion needed to develop a homogeneous people. The “Praise House” was an ideal culture medium for transmitting not only Christianity but what had been retained from Africa. To appreciate this heritage one must explore West African Traditional Religion.

In the Beginning God.
Like most religions, those of Africa begin with God and his creation. In West African traditional religions God is seen, as in the Judeo-Christian heritage, as one-- creator, ruler of the universe, and judge, omnipotent, omniscient, immortal, holy, and compassionate. The idea of creation and sinful man, similar to that in Genesis, is found among the Mende, Akan, Edo, and many other African people. But the native African also believes in other divinities seen as God's intermediaries; worship, rituals and sacrifices designed to invoke them; spirits and ancestors; divination, magic, and witchcraft intended to influence people and events.

The supreme religious experience is possession by the god; a person merges his identity in that of the god and loses control of his conscious faculties, against a background of singing, dancing, and drumming. He begins by clapping his hands, nodding his head, and patting his feet to the rhythms of the drums. His motions become more emphatic; his head is thrown from side to side and his arms thresh about him. He dashes to the center of a cleared space, and gives way to the call of the god, running, rolling, falling, jumping, spinning, talking in tongues, and prophesying. His frenzy continues unabated until he falls in a faint.

The roots of the religious services among the Gullah-speaking people of the sea islands, with fervent singing, dancing and praying, like one possessed, culminating in the ring shout, now become clear. Spirit possession was reinterpreted in Christian terms. Even the style of preaching with its moving call-and-response can also be observed in Nigeria today.

In Africa priests are respected leaders in the service of a particular deity, often functioning in his worship at a shrine in a sacred locality. Worship of the divinity may take many forms: invocations, libations, offerings, prayers, and songs; sacrifice sought to propitiate a god or ward off a pending disaster.

Prominent in West African religion is the medicine man, with his special knowledge of herbs and healing, for faith and health are intertwined; the diviner, who learns the signs of the unknown, conveys mysteries, settles disputes, and gives guidance in daily affairs. They too have their counterparts along the coast of Carolina. Readily, the black folks in the New World continued the joyous religious celebrations, similar to the Yam Festival of West Africa, often marking seasons of the year, the planting or harvesting of crops. The concept of the body, soul, and spirit of man in African religion is fundamental to an understanding of his nature and destiny. Whether Yoruba, Ashanti, or Bantu, such a tripartite concept is deeply imbedded in the folk culture of the sea islanders. The body is buried, the soul goes home to the Kingdom of God, but the spirit is still on earth.

> "Everybody got two kinds ob speerit. One is der hebben-goin' speerit...Den dere is der trabblin' speerit...De hebben-goin' speerit don't gib you no trouble, but de trabblin' speerit, 'e be de one dat gib you worriment. E come back to de t'ings 'e like. E try fur come right back in de same house."

The major events in the life cycle of the individual, from birth through puberty, marriage, and death, are often marked by rituals that reflect the deepest beliefs of a people. To the BaKongo the stages of life are symbolized in the Four Moments of the Sun. Its rising represents birth or the beginning; its ascendancy, maturity and responsibility; its setting, death and transformation; and midnight, existence in the other world and eventual rebirth.

At puberty , boys and girls are separated from others and indoctrinated through secret societies in the knowledge needed for adult life under the direction of leaders or spiritual parents, called zo, who hide their identity behind masks. Enforcing conformity to mores, such societies flourished in many West and Central African lands, from the Windward Coast through the Ibo and Ibibio to the Leopard Societies of the Congo. Best known and most elaborate are Poro for boys and Sande for girls among the Mende of Sierra Leone.

These ceremonies introduce young people to society and to the divinities whom they may call upon to guide their lives. These rites reinforce tradition and camaraderie.Most important, this death of childhood and birth of the adult is symbolized in both sexes by wearing new clothes and by ritual washing, total immersion in a river or stream. A Sande initiate wears a white head tie and covers her face with white clay. After completing initiation one has "crossed the water. “ The water spirits are among the most powerful of the supernatural world, and many of their priests undoubtedly found their way to America bringing their lore and practices with them.

The bond between the Baptist faith of the Gullah people and their ancestors is evident. The period of transition between the desire to become a Christian and acceptance by the elders was called "seekin'," for the probationer was seeking Jesus. A female seeker wore a white cloth or string around her head and often covered herself with ashes. Independent of the instruction of Christian missionaries, and often to their dismay, the "seeker" would "travel" or "go into de wilderness" and have visions which he or she related to a spiritual teacher or guide. After this and a declaration of faith to the Praise House members, a further examination determined if one was ready for baptism.

On St. Helena in 1863, when 140 were baptized on a Sunday morning , the candidates arrived “dressed for the water.” The pastor immersed the candidates in the water; each emerged to put on shiny new clothes brought for the purpose. Only then were they full members of the community as well as the church.

Outwardly a Christian service, the pageantry and meaning were echoes from the centuries-old practices of the Windward Coast, the Gulf of Guinea, and the Congo. The staff built like a cross that the deacon drove down to the bottom of the river expressed more than the crucifixion; it was also the symbol of the enormous authority of the religious leader, especially among the BaKongo. Moreover, the cross itself stood for the Four Moments of the Sun that mirrors the life cycle of the individual; the horizontal or Kalunga line from west to east, like water, divides this world of the living from the next. In the world below, or *mpende*, the dead may lose the impurities acquired in this life, and reenter this world at dawn as grandchildren, immortal spirits, or natural forms like rocks or streams. Spiritual parents kept alive the African elements in the "invisible institution" of black religion which, begun in the 1700s, continued to thrive beneath the cloak of Christianity along the coast of Carolina and Georgia.

Since death is a transition from this world to another, the funeral is the climax of life among African people; elaborate rites insure their rightful place in the afterworld and their good will toward the living. Since the hereafter is generally viewed as a carbon copy
of earthly life, articles of clothing or trinkets may be placed in the coffin, along with money to enable the dead to cross the river of no return – like the coin to give the helmsman who rows across the River Styx.

It is virtually impossible to identify religious belief or practices of the sea islands with any particular African ethnic group, as so many were involved, and changes have taken place on both sides of the Atlantic. More important than identifying groups is the historical sequence. The early cultural dominance of Congo-Angola people in the Low Country was followed by the influence of those of Upper Guinea from Senegambia through the Windward Coast who already found there a creolized black culture. Slaves entrenched in a system of rice production reinforced an Old World heritage. The Middle Period of the slave trade also saw the influx of more Africans from the Gold Coast area. The BaKongo influence served as incubator for many cultural patterns, and superceded Akan-Ashanti impact, but did not smother the Upper Guinea contribution. Each major group left its presence whose longevity depended not only on its number but on its adaptability.

The picture that emerges of religion on the sea islands parallels that of language. Customs like the puberty rites of secret societies derive from the Windward Coast; the religious ecstasy of one possessed by the god owes more to the traditions of the Guinea Coast. But the Bantu from Central Africa had an early and lasting effect, especially on deeply held beliefs related to death, burial, and the nature of the soul.

The syncretism of Christianity and African religion is understandable. As the African felt that the god of a conquering tribe must be more powerful, and adopted him while retaining his own, so blacks in America accepted the God or Jesus of those who enslaved them while keeping their belief in other gods. The Christian concept of salvation and the hope of heaven were readily grasped by those whose earthly lives knew labor and the lash. The elders who brought to these shores knowledge of diverse divinities and ancient practices taught them to their children; the deacons of the churches of today are their moral descendants. The strength and flexibility of some African spiritual customs facilitated their merger with Christianity. But the folk religion that evolved in the slave quarters along the sea islands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was more than a survival, and more than a blend; it was a creolization. The Gullah people adapted African beliefs to their own concept of Christianity in a dynamic and creative synthesis that helped them build a community of strength and solidarity that withstood the hardships of life. Religious faith raised up the slave, gave him hope and moral superiority, and contradicted the dehumanizing experience of slavery.

Syncretism is dramatically illustrated by Maum Hester of South Carolina in the 1920s who believed that each day that passed carried with it deeds and thoughts performed by each person. The sun carried the record to the center of the earth, where the moon and stars, the signs and seasons, all rested until their time

to appear. The "Lawd Jedus" presided over the entrance to this region. Her chief concern was that the record which the sun bore to the Lawd Jedus each night might prove acceptable to Him.

Each morning she went through a ritual. When she saw the sun she repeated three times
the formula: "Do Lawd Jedus, is I please you dis day?" Each time, she walked around the room in a circle with a peculiar posture, step, and rapt expression characteristic of the ring shout. After the third question her emotional state bordered on hysteria.
"But the t'ird time, de sun he 'gin move, I see he shoutin.' Den I happy, by I know den I done please de Lawd Jedus dat day."

Only the figure of Jesus is Christian; all else is BaKongo. No sharp line can be drawn between religion, magic, and healing, especially in Africa and the sea islands. The Divine Healer dispenses health, and various incantations may be used to induce the divinities to cure illness. The powerful influence of magic along the Georgia coast illustrates this principle and its African antecedents.

Magic and Mystery

> I dohn know who done it, but all ub a sudden muh leg begin tuh swell an swell. I call a regluh doctuh, but he didn seem tuh do no good; so tree weeks ago I went tuh a root man. He gimme sumpm tuh take an sumpm tuh put in muh bed. In a few days knots come out all obuh muh leg an wuhrums staht tuh crawl out. Only one knot lef. I guess I soon be well.

Martha Major from Yamacraw near Savannah was explaining to the visitors from the Georgia Writers' Project how she had been conjured and the root doctor had relieved her misery. Their book*, Drums and Shadows*, filled with such examples of the practices of sea islanders of the 1930s in their own words, along with African counterparts, did for beliefs what Turner did for language.

Many informants were reluctant to talk of conjuring, so strong was the fear of such magic among the descendants of African slaves. The long history and powerful influence of conjuring is illustrated by an ad in a Savannah newspaper of 1788 for a runaway slave. He was "called Doctor Hercules from his remarkable conjurations of pigs feet, rattlesnakes teeth, and from the feet and legs of several sick people, many of whom still believe him in reality to have performed miracles."

While anything may be used to "fix" a person, from roots and powder to hair and nail-clippings, most effective is graveyard dirt, preferably from the grave of one who has been murdered. Serpents, feared in Dahomey and among the Ibibio and other people of southern Nigeria, frequently play a prominent role in conjuring. One Gullah woman said
of another, "She wuk a root on me so strong dat she put a big snake in muh bed, and uh could feel tings moobin all tru muh body. I could feel duh snake runnin all tru me."

Root doctors take their name from the various roots and herbs used in healing, for their magic is not all harmful. George Little, who said he had been born with a special knowledge of healing, listed a dozen roots in his pharmacopeia. A self-professed root doctor and fortune teller, James Washington, explained that he could tell the future because he was born with a double caul. He said that some magic can guard you from harm, but evil magic can put you down sick; hair is the most powerful thing an enemy can get hold of because it is so close to the brain. The root doctor thus revealed several beliefs with well known African antecedents. The special power of those born with a caul is recognized in Dahomey; the importance of the diviner or fortune-teller is known to the Ashanti; the place of hair in magic is widespread among many Africans from the Ewe to the Mpongwe; and the role of conjure and charms is universal.

Dr. Ramsay Mallette, former Professor of Psychiatry at the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston, trained his residents to perform similar magic to reverse the hex laid upon the patient whose fear of death is paralyzing. His video tape of this healing procedure, complete with the instruments of conjure that produced recovery, is a gripping
demonstration of the power of belief.

From birth to death, superstitions govern the life of these natives of coastal Georgia. As among the Ibo, being born with teeth is usually considered extremely unlucky. Charms are worn by most people to ward off evil spirits. If that silver dime surrounding the woman's ankle turns black, it is a sure sign that she has been conjured.

A witch or hag, well known in Africa, is the disembodied spirit of an old woman.Leaving her body during sleep, she rides another person, sometimes causing illness, and various charms must be worn to ward off this evil influence. A witch leaves her skin behind when entering one's home. Witches are more feared than ghosts, especially when they get a grudge against someone. The most dramatic thing witches do is fly away. All of these beliefs have their African counterparts.

At the funeral on the Georgia coast, awesome practices prevent the return of the ghost. At the "settin' up" or wake, bread and coffee are usually served to the mourners, as among the Ibo and many Sudanese groups; each of them pours some on the ground for the spirit of the deceased, as done among the Efik, the Ashanti, the Dahomeans, and other West African people

"Den at duh time fuh buryin, duh drum would beat an all would lay flat on duh groun on dey faces befo duh body wuz placed in duh grave. Den all would rise and dance roun duh grave. Wen duh body wuz buried, duh drum would give signal wen all wuz tuh rise aw fall aw tuh dance aw sing." Such customs are reminiscent of those of the Mandingo and Ashanti. All must bid farewell to the corpse, either speaking a few words or touching it, as done on the Gold Coast. The service isn't over until each one has thrown a handful of dirt in the grave, a custom known in Nigeria and among Bantu nomads of Bechuana.

Adorning the grave is well known to the Georgia blacks, and woe to one who steals anything from it, even a broken mirror, for bad luck will follow him. Departed spirits or ghosts inhabit the world of the living, often taking the form of animals or dwarfs. The rebirth of the spirit as an animal is reported among the Yoruba, and the backward-facing dwarf is commonplace among people of the Gold Coast. In the bestiary of the sea islands are boo-hags, boo-daddies, drolls, conjure-horses, and plat-eye, a hideous and greatly feared one-eyed ghost who takes various shapes and forms when one places the head of a murdered man in a hole with treasure. An original blend of African tradition, self-reliance, and Christianity is illustrated by the defense against plat-eye of a former slave, Maum Addie,. "So I totes my powder en sulfur en I carries mah stick in mah han en puts mah truss in Gawd."

The search for links of Georgia coastal blacks with African groups is on shifting sands, for most of these beliefs and practices are widespread and have changed over time on both continents. The most commonly cited ethnic group in *Drums and Shadows* is Ibo; blacks on Sapelo, St. Simons, and St. Marys told of grandparents or other ancestors of that group. "Ibo's Landing" on St. Simons is named for those freshly brought from Africa who, refusing to be enslaved, marched into the water and were drowned. Their self destruction supports the view of Henry Laurens that slaves from Calabar were liable to commit suicide.

The persistence of Moslem practices on the Georgia coast reported in the 1930s indicates late importation of people from northern Nigeria or the western Sudan. Katie Brown of Sapelo told of the regular ritual prayers of her great grandfather Belali Mohomet on his prayer rug. Slave driver to Thomas Spaulding, Belali had among his many daughters Magret, Bentoo, Chaalut, Medina, Yaruba, Fatima, and Hestuh. Magret's granddaughter Katie Brown recollected:

> "Magret an uh daughtuh Cotto use tuh say dat Belali an he wife Phoebe pray on duh bead. Dey wuz bery puhticluh bout duh time dey pray an dey bery regluh bout duh hour. Wen duh sun come up, wen it straight obuh head an wen it set, das duh time dey pray. Dey bow tuh duh sun an hab lill mat tuh kneel on. Duh beads is on a long string. Belali he pull bead an he say, 'Belambi, Hakabara, Mahamadu.' Phoebe she say, 'Ameen, Ameen.'"

While these are clearly Moslem practices, albeit truncated, the three times a day for prayer also coincide with the Moments of the Sun in the Cosmogram of the BaKongo. Like religious belief, magic prevailed in the new setting because it held such a firm grip upon the mind, helped one cope with the unknown, and provided some sense of protection in a threatening world. More than religion, however, it appealed to baser instincts of fear. More a secret practice than a social one it said, "My will be done," rather than "Thy will be done." One proverb expressed the hope of those struggling to survive in a hostile environment: "Black people rule sickness with magic but white people get sick and die." Inseparable from deeply held beliefs on the sea islands are the joyous sounds of music that also reflect the African connection.

Music Hath Charms

Guy Carawan said that he knew he was in heaven when the singing began at a Christmas Eve Watch in Moving Star Hall on Johns Island. Some woman with a thick, rich low alto started off in the corner and very soon was joined by some deep, resonant male "basers" from another corner. The falsetto wails and moans sailed in to float on high over the lead. By the time the whole group of about sixty worshippers had joined in, each freely improvising in his or her own way, the hall was rocking and swaying to an ecstatic "Savior Do Not Pass Me By."...Song followed song with different people taking turns leading off as the spirit moved them.

After a while different individuals began to pray and give personal testimony while everyone else hummed, wailed, moaned and answered fervently in response. That sound was the strangest and most beautiful of all. . . The total sound was beyond description. As the fervor mounted at the end of each prayer or testimony, the congregation would soar back into song, sparked by the testifier or by someone who felt a particular song at the moment. Carawan continued to capture in words the magic of hands clapping, heads and bodies swaying, and feet tapping in time with the singing, culminating in shouting and dancing. The whole building was rocking in rhythm. A near perfect sense of timing made it a group form of expression.

The world has come to appreciate the unique beauty of the spiritual, with its rich melody, appealing rhythm, and qualities of the human voice that seem to rise directly from the soul. W. E. B. DuBois wrote that "the Negro folk-song -- the rhythmic cry of the slave--stands to-day not simply as the sole American music, but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas."

The teachers and missionaries who flocked to St. Helena in the 1860s were struck by the soulful singing of the blacks. The difficulty of capturing the character of these "negro ballads by mere musical notes and signs" was well recognized by Lucy McKim, who published the first songs of the Port Royal Contrabands. "The wild, sad strains tell, as the sufferers themselves never could, of crushed hopes, keen sorrow, and a dull daily misery which covered them as hopelessly as the fog from the rice-swamps. On the other hand, the words breathe a trusting faith in rest in the future--in 'Canaan's air and happy land,' to which their eyes seem constantly turned."

Col. Thomas Higginson, who raised the first slave regiment mustered into Union service, interspersed similar sentiments between his published spirituals. In the song, "I Know Moon-Rise," he was especially moved upon hearing the words: "I'll lie in de grave and stretch out my arms." "Never, it seems to me, since man first lived and suffered, was his infinite longing for peace uttered more plaintively than in that line."

The Bible was a gold mine to the slave; he transmuted the Christian tradition into a fresh and vivid lyric poetry to express his concealed hope and his desire for freedom and justice. In the cryptic language of freedom, Cana'an also meant Canada, one terminal of the underground railroad, conductors were called Moses, and the chariot was a symbol of escape. "Live Humble" was an exhortation to be patient a little longer, and "Daniel" expressed faith in deliverance.

As the revival movement by the early 1800s brought south many hymns sung in camp meetings attended by blacks and whites, their singing styles influenced each other; and hymns were readily adopted by the slaves. Each line of a hymn read aloud as the audience repeated it; such "lining out," accorded well with call-and-response. Black religious songs, known in the 1820s, were composed by them by the 1840s; the spiritual was fully developed by 1856. Songs of blacks show that their rhythmical and structural elements came from Africa, although the product is native American. What impressed missionaries on St. Helena most was the Ring Shout, a dance of religious ecstasy, half pow-wow, half prayer-meeting, with chants and song, seen as barbaric by most whites who did not appreciate its meaning and origin. Work songs were also common on the sea
islands, whether in rowing boats or thrashing rice sheaves. Each plantation had its own songs and took pride in singing them. Dance also characterized life on the sea islands, often reflecting work patterns, as in “New Rice an’ Okra,” when scuffing off the outside husks of rice. Rhythm and improvisation, that characterized dance and song, were a group activity and a part of everyday life.

Music fills the life of the African from birth to death, closely associated with the gods, magic, and healing. A wide variety of native instruments are played there, including drums and fiddles, and the bania, the forerunner of the banjo; but the human voice is the crowning instrument. Even on the slave ship; the memory of African music was kept alive, and in America black mothers passed on melodies to their children. The ring shout, songs, spirituals, and instruments of the sea islands can be traced to Africa. Sounds born there came to enrich American music.

Music from Africa was retained among the Gullah because it expressed feelings of joy or of grief, promoted physical and spiritual well-being, provided escape from drudgery, molded the young, and fostered a sense of community. Slaves speaking different tongues could communicate feelings in this universal language, and music at funerals united the living with the dead. Sacred songs, echoing religion, evolved from the syncretism of Christianity and African belief, and some also contained a veiled cry for freedom.

One other activity transmitted to the sea islands that kept alive memories and raised the morale of the people provides another opportunity to discover both African roots and adaptation in a new environment.

Thereby Hangs a Tale: Folklore

The story of the mock plea of Brother Rabbit who is thrown into the briar patch that he pretends to fear, familiar for more than a century to millions since childhood, is one of the well known animal tales of *Uncle Remus* by Joel Chandler Harris. But it is still alive in a modern story-telling session on Wadmalaw Island. The audience response makes it even more vibrant. When the speaker imitates the whining and whimpering of Ber Rabbit and adds the squinched eyes, wrinkled nose, gestures of face and hands, and bodily movements, his listeners go wild with laughter.

Many cantefables, or "singing tales," abound on the sea islands where they have educated and delighted the inhabitants for generations. The Tar Baby of well-nigh universal distribution is another favorite in coastal Carolina. Why the wide appeal of the short accounts of talking animals, mythical creatures, and heroes of extraordinary powers? Some serve as escape literature; some explain the origin of the cosmos and its creatures; others are instructive; and in some settings they may contain a hidden message. Tracing

connections through folktales is virtually impossible. The same stories are spread over many lands; those collected are only a fraction of all known to a people, and they are filtered through alien listeners; two tales with the same theme are not identical in content or style; through improvisation the tale is transformed with each telling; and the setting, gestures, intonations, acting, and even audience response are just as important as the story itself.

Missionaries and travelers were aware of the rich vein of tales that natives of Africa told, intertwined with their history and mythology. Stories from Sierra Leone, told in dialect, usually at night around a campfire, display the dramatic power of the storyteller and the musical quality of the chants accompanied by the clapping of hands. The trickster animal is widely known and loved; physically insignificant, seemingly helpless, and yet endowed with extraordinary mental acumen, his triumphs are an approved outlet for difficulties experienced by oppressed people. Tales of the small animal who outwits bigger ones are widespread throughout Africa, frequently the rabbit in Sierra Leone and Nnabe, the turtle, on the Slave Coast. “Anansi,” the spider, featured in tales of the Temne
and Limba of Sierra Leone, is even better known in Ghana and the Gold Coast. Shrewd and designing, selfish, deceitful, and sometimes cruel, the spider appears in half of the folk tales of West Africa. This wily creature is well known in the West Indies too, where his scheming nature reflects the subtlety necessary for survival, and connects Africa, the Caribbean, and Carolina. In the sea islands, the name readily became "Aunt Nancy."

Soon after Northerners arrived on St. Helena, they became aware of the rich treasure of stories known to the people of the region. The most complete collection of sea island tales was made by the folklorist Elsie Clews Parsons. Her densely packed volume (1923) contains 178 tales, many of them with several variants, plus riddles, proverbs, toasts, verses, songs, folkways, and notions, told in dialect. Her ninety informants were primarily from St. Helena and Port Royal, with the remainder from the neighboring islands.

Here one finds animals well known to southerners--dog, fox, wolf, rat, cat, bullfrog, alligator, turtle, squirrel, raccoon, partridge, rooster, crane, chicken, duck, and rattlesnake. But also mentioned are the tiger and imaginary people with magic powers unlike anything in the environment. Some tales point a moral, often the small and smart outwit the large and stupid; others explain an origin as in the Just So Stories. An African provenience is cited for too few tales to be meaningful, but Sierra Leone is most common
in West Africa. Similarities of the sea island stories to those of the West Indies, especially the Bahamas, reflect the common origins of the people. The three Gullah stories containing Mende expressions recognized by Turner show imagination as well as further affinity to Sierra Leone:

The dean of folklore, William R. Bascom, collected several hundred tales, and grouped them into fourteen themes; some 267 tales are from Africa, sixty from South Carolina, and thirty from Georgia. The relative contribution from regions of West and Central Africa to the sea islands roughly resembles their slave importations, with two important exceptions: Nigeria contributes 25 percent while Angola yields only 18 percent. Of greater interest, themes most frequent in South Carolina and Georgia are also common in Ghana and Nigeria. Most often mentioned tribes in West Africa are Yoruba, Hausa, Ashanti, Mossi, and Temne. Some common ideology binds together the sea islands and West Africans.

With all the difficulties of defining particular tales, and their transformations over time to fit the new conditions of life on the sea islands, it is impossible to pinpoint their African origins; all regions contributed. As with grammar, the Guinea coast people probably gave more folklore than their direct slave import to Carolina, in part because of the passage of many people from this region through the West Indies.

More than one story, however, relates the Yoruba to Johns Island. In both areas the tortoise as trickster represents the little man getting through the difficulties of life with license to act outside the rules of

society. Common to Yoruba and Johns Island are not only the well-known Tar Baby story but a striking explanation of an eclipse as the result of an argument between the sun and the moon.

Several folktales and the style of telling them are common to Wadmalaw Island and the Ibo of Nigeria. The closest parallel is in a classic morality tale in which the remains of a murdered person indict the one who committed the foul crime. In the Wadmalaw version the mother kills her daughter for stealing three pears, and buries her in a field where onions grow in the spring. The effort by Brother, Daddy and finally Mama herself to pull up the presumed onions produces this refrain from the victim:

> Mama, Mama, Mama
> Don't you pull me hair
> You know you kill me
> Bout the three li pear.

In the parallel Ibo version, an older son kills his younger brother for a flower; one of his bones later sings out:

> Mama, Mama, Mama
> The bone you are looking at
> Is that of him who went
> To the bush with his brother
> His brother killed him
> For the sake of his flower.

Folk tales from Sierra Leone, like songs and prayers, probably entered the sea islands with the rice cultivation in the eighteenth century, and blended with those from other regions. Folklore was retained along the coast as a heart-warming remembrance of the homeland, instruction for the young, and comic relief from daily drudgery. When folklore was told by a gifted raconteur to a responsive audience, a sustaining social bond was forged among the people. Whites would have no incentive to discourage this apparently harmless pastime that kept alive the African heritage. The trickster permitted a satirical picture of the society in which the slave lived; blacks learned the advantage of role playing and adapting to the value system of a clever animal like Ber Rabbit. Some subtle connecting links of Africa to the sea islands are expressed with body language rather than with speech.

Gestures and Motions

As the discussion of the two Gullah-speaking black men grows more heated, one of them crosses his arms before his chest to signal the end of the conversation. He is not arguing, but in this somewhat combative situation he is communicating that he definitely does not like what is being laid on him.This gesture, called *tuluwa lwa luumbu* among the Kongo, symbolizes self-encirclement in silence, more powerful than words.

How should such a stance be interpreted in the quest for African retentions? Like dance, a motion of head, body or limb, and the message it conveys, can be transported overseas and over time. While a spontaneous smile is a reflex that transmits a universal meaning, the most simple movement of the head to signal "yes" or "no" varies in meaning among mankind and thus reflects learned behavior. The many gestures of the latter variety that survive among African-derived people in the New World often appear to have Kongo origins.

The Gullah child, rebuked for wrong-doing by her mother, turns her head to one side to avert her gaze and purses her lips in denial and rejection. The Kongo gesture of *nunsa*, with head averted and lips pursed, is well known in Africa both among the living and in sculpture. The related *kebuka* pose of the conga drum

player, with head turned to one side while concentrating on his music and shutting out all distractions, can beobserved on both sides of the Atlantic.

Arms akimbo and both hands on the hips, a pose called *pakalala* in Kongo, proclaims that one is ready to accept the challenge of the situation. Used especially among Low Country women, this combative posture expresses contempt. Some gestures of the Kongo, most clearly expressed in Haiti, have made their way into the United States. The pose of *pakalala*, called in Haiti *deu men sou kote*, combining challenge with grace and humor, is used by women while dancing with men.

Placing the left hand on the hip and thrusting the right hand forward, called *biika mambu* or *telama lwinbanganga* by the Kongo, is common in Haiti where it is known as *pose Kongo*. Holding both hands above the head with fingers wide apart, called *booka,* expresses crying out for help, weeping, or proclaiming. Such gestures are also reproduced in sculpture on stone or terra cotta of funeral columns of the BaKongo. Evidently Central Africa had an early and persistent influence on body language as on spoken language in coastal Carolina and the West Indies. Some gestures may come from other regions, but they have not as yet been so well identified. Certain group activities among the Gullah-speakers are derived from other peoples of West Africa.

Sixty years ago Bascom recognized the similarity of certain cooperative work patterns of the Gullah to African ones. On Sapelo Island and Hilton Head, elderly blacks recalled how groups of thirty to fifty people went hoeing side by side while singing in unison to make the work more pleasant and rapid. Such group activity closely resembles the *dokpwe* of Dahomey and the awe, or working bee, of the Yoruba; they also illustrate creolization that arose on the sea islands in an adaptation of labor to a new environment.
In other actions training is needed but inherent capacity may also be involved. Higginson reported:

> I have seen a woman with a brimming water-pail balanced on her head, or perhaps a cup, saucer and spoon, stop suddenly, turn around, stop to pick up the missile, rise again, fling it, light a pipe, and go through many evolutions with either hand or both, without spilling a drop.

Just such a complex sense of balance and motor coordination can be seen widely in Africa.

Not so much the substance itself but rather its usage expresses a cultural affinity and an adaptation. Blacks of coastal Carolina wrap each little strand of hair with white twine and wear a bandana or headkerchief much as their ancestors did in Africa. Hairstyling there is a great art form; a variety of intricate styles are known, such as braiding, wrapping hair to resemble sticks, threading strands to form crowns, and adding colored beads to hair strands. Material culture, no less than beliefs and customs, reflect an African heritage recreated with modifications in the New World. Many crafts of the sea islands proclaim this connection, and tangible evidence actually lies buried in the very soil of coastal Carolina and Georgia.

Chapter 6. *What the Hand Wrought*

"Dave belongs to Mr. Miles
Where the oven bakes and the pot biles"
This verse, imprinted on the side of a large jar made by a slave in the 1840s in South Carolina, illustrates originality, practicality, and African tradition. Whether working in clay or cloth, wood or iron, the African Americans of Carolina and Georgia reflect their Old World artistic heritage adapted to New World needs.

Material culture provides further clues to specific links to Africa and their transformation on the sea islands.

African Art Reborn

The vibrant color and animation of the rock paintings made 3000 to 4000 B.C. at the Tassili Massif in the middle of the Sahara desert attest to the ability of the artist to capture the image of wildlife that flourished there in the past. Striking terra-cotta heads are known at Nok in present-day Nigeria from before 500 B.C. By the twelfth century A.D at Ife, southwest of Nok, bronze casting by the *cire-perdue* or lost-wax method produced remarkable naturalistic life-like figures. The world-renowned art of Benin, in wood carving and bronze casting, begun by 1280 A.D., flourished there from the fifteenth
to the eighteenth century. Masks associated with secret societies in the western bulge of Africa, stylized to represent animals, are noted for their skillful carving. In the making of
boats and drums, masks and musical instruments, wooden stools and figurines to honor ancestors, statues and ceramics, the African displayed a feel for texture, a sense of beauty, and individuality, foreshadowing the hand work on the coast of Carolina. Color was used to enliven arts and crafts, to brighten the walls of a house, ornament a mask or headdress, dye textiles, and decorate pottery, often with symbolic meaning that went beyond esthetics. Everyone, man, woman, or child, learning the traditions of the tribe, took pride in skills required for the household arts, but items for the god or the king were produced by specially designated craftsmen.

With enslavement in the New World, the social fabric, the bonds of kinship, the artifacts made for king or god, and the rituals associated with them, were swept away from the African. Yet the ideas which motivate the creation of an object, along with the innate skill, endured. Many of the raw materials of tidewater Carolina were similar to those in Western and Central Africa, and it was advantageous to white masters to utilize the talents of black bondsmen.

From earliest days Charles Town needed craftsmen of many kinds; white artisans used both white and black apprentices who learned from each other. By the 1760s slave artisans were hired out by the day to clients, and some set up their own shops, paying a percentage of their earnings to their masters. Advertisements for runaway slaves in the eighteenth century attest to their many talents. In time the so-called "Bozal Negro" (or "salt man") fresh from Africa was apprenticed to one born in this country who acted as interpreter and trainer, utilizing skill the newcomer had in his homeland. A blacksmith who knew how to make spears or anklets or iron money in Africa could use the same techniques in making wrought iron gates or mule bits in America. Pride in craftsmanship,
as well as talent, carried over into new occupations. Crafts came to be the special province of Free Persons of Color, often passed on from father to son for generations. On the large plantations of the Low Country, the sound of the saw of the carpenter and the anvil of the blacksmith rang out. Each plantation was efficiently run like a small town, supplying most of its own needs and finished products, often with the help of capable artisans. Crafts, such as basketry, sewing, weaving, and net making, were taught by adults to children as they were in Africa.

Thus, an interaction of European and African traditions arose in colonial South Carolina and Georgia that influenced the artifacts of slaves, as it did their language, beliefs, and practices. The style as much as the content revealed the African heritage; improvisation and changing needs helped to reshape the old into the new.

Tales from the Good Earth

If most of us dug into the ground where people had lived in past centuries, the fragments of pottery, bits of animal bones, pieces of metal, and assorted scraps uncovered would mean little. But to the trained archeologist the people and their culture come to life again from small things forgotten.

In antebellum plantation sites excavated, slave quarters are distinct from the master's house. A kitchen leaves different remains than a bedroom; thimbles and spools tell of sewing. In conjunction with the historical record, archaeology sheds light on the African American people and opens one more window in the search for connection to their homeland and transformation in America. African techniques are reflected in many items recovered from the soil of South Carolina from the earliest days of Charles Town into the nineteenth century. They were gradually transformed by European concepts into something new, and they also influenced the styles of the white masters.

Tahro, born in the Central Congo, transported in the slave ship Wanderer to Georgia in 1858, and later brought to Edgefield, South Carolina, constructed a one-room, seven by ten foot, rectangular dwelling with timber frame, lath walls held in place by twine netting, and straw-thatched roof. He said it was like the one he had built in Africa. Col. Higginson noted the African-style huts built by the newly freed slaves on St. Helena in 1863. Tabby walls and palmetto fronds for roofing are still known in coastal Georgia as well as coastal Guinea, and thatched roofs could be found on the houses of the sea islands even into the twentieth century.

In tracing the story of dwellings in South Carolina, archaeology supplements history; sites excavated along the South Atlantic coast reflect an African heritage. Houses of slaves were more like African ones than those in any other place in the Southeast. Slave quarters of different periods show transition in their construction. The influence of Africa on white architecture is more subtle. When blacks first added a small porch to a cabin it reflected both utility and memory. The "piazza" of the typical Charleston house, which catches the breeze during the heat of the summer, had antecedents in the West Indies and developed slowly. Notably, side porches or piazzas did not become common in that city until refugees arrived from Haiti after 1790. Thus, directly and indirectly via the West Indies, the architectural ideas of Africa crept into South Carolina and Georgia, with a lasting influence on buildings of blacks and whites.

Yard and garden around the home also show African influence. In many societies, notably the Ibo, Idama, and Yoruba of Nigeria, immense value is placed on protecting the sacred soil. The paling fences enclosing small yards on old coastal plantations are strikingly similar to palm rib fences between the dwellings in southwestern Nigeria. The custom of sweeping the yard with a straw broom and using bottles to edge flowerbeds or walkways probably also owes its origin to West Africa, and has retained its utility in America.

Colono Ware

The African heritage and its transformation is dramatically illustrated by pottery found in the soil of Carolina.Archeologist Leland Ferguson found that hand-built, unglazed, clay pots from colonial sites, attributed to Native Americans and called "Colono-Indian," were also made by African Americans. Such pottery was far more frequent than all other types combined, more common in rural than urban settings, and abundant wherever slaves had lived. They made up 87 percent of ceramics at the slave quarters at Yaughan, near Georgetown, but only 16 percent at the planter's house at Drayton Hall, near Charleston. Evidently fired at a low temperature and unglazed, their shape, coarse, thick walls, loop handles, and round bottoms indicated their manufacture by blacks. "Wasters," or pieces fractured during firing, clumps of unfired clay, and even finger marks indicate that the vessels had been made by slaves for their own use.

Some pottery, christened "Colono Ware," bore striking similarity to some African forms. It predominated in the early eighteenth century and declined rapidly with the end of the slave trade in the nineteenth, as more glazed, European-style pottery appeared. Colono Ware died out about the same time that African-style buildings yielded to European-style ones on plantations, an example of cultural adaptation. Blacks in the West Indies made similar pottery, and still do today. Bowls for cooking and eating found at an eighteenth century slave site at Drax Hall, Jamaica, are called "jabba" after a Twi word meaning

earthenware vessel or dish; a contemporary pot from Nevis near Barbados shows the same traits as those from Carolina.

Pottery-making has a long and impressive history in Africa. Appearing in a Nigerian rock shelter soon after 4000 B. C., it reached an outstanding technical level by the beginning of the first millennium A. D. It is also known from megalithic sites in Senegambia and Mali by the second half of that millennium, reaching a climax in the artistic creations in terra-cotta at Nok. Cooking jars and serving bowls are known from the Fulani to the Kongo--and the potsherds left behind are similar to those found in colonial Carolina. Using the same techniques, the eighteenth-century black Carolinian potters transmitted the heritage of their ancestors. A surprising discovery associates people of Central Africa with some vessels.

Strange marks were centered on the bottom of a few Colono Ware bowls. A cross frequently occurred inside a ringed base, but never on cooking jars or pots of any clearly European ware. Most remarkable, of seventeen such pieces, thirteen were from underwater sites, five at Pimlico and eight at Mepkin Plantation, both along the Cooper River, although terrestrial sites are far more common. With its quadrants and circle, was this the famous Cosmogram of the BaKongo people that traces the cycle of life? As their *minkisi* or sacred medicine was prepared by the progenitor of their kingdom himself in an earthenware pot, what could be a better container for healing magic than a clay bowl? One can imagine an African slave, seeking a cure for a dying child, stealing away in the dead of night to the river bank and hurling the bowl with its magic symbol into the water, so that its message might travel to that other world, reverse an evil spell, and save a loved one. The beliefs of Central Africa literally sank deep into the soil of Carolina. Clay jugs with faces of bulging white eyes and large clenched teeth made by African Americans in the early 1860s near Edgefield in Aiken County suggest a grotesque ferocity. Did they convey the emotions of resentment, anger, or satire of these slaves closely akin to the sea islanders? Most of the Africans landed on Jekyll Island, Georgia, by the slave ship *Wanderer,* who ended up near Edgefield were Kikongo speakers.

Style and usage indicate an African inspiration for these Carolina ceramics as well as connections to the West Indies. The terra-cotta traditions at Nok and Ife still live among Africans who fashion clay figures today. Inspiration for the sculpture of the nineteenth-century black Carolinians probably had several sources, from Sierra Leone through Ghana to the Bantu of Central Africa. Half-remembered forms, available material, originality, and the opportunity to express in clay feelings of resistance or ridicule of masters combined with demand to produce aflorescence of unique sculpture, a further example of creolization.

Food for Thought

What we eat and how we eat it, products of culture, are reflected in the deposits left behind in the dust as archaeology again supplements history. Of some dozen sites on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia that have yielded secrets of the past life of African Americans, especially rich are those from Couper's plantation at Cannon's Point on St. Simons Island from 1794 through 1860. Archaeology of Barbados and Jamaica also provide important links between Africa, the West Indies, and the Low Country.

The careful analysis of animal remains from the slave quarters of Tidewater plantations shows that blacks supplemented their rations of corn, meal, rice, vegetables, and a little pork with whatever they could catch in the woods or the waterways, for the bones of wild animals and fish outnumber those of domestic animals two to one. Lead shot, gunflints, and fishhooks in slave cabins give further evidence of this dietary supplement. Remains in the earth show that the manner of partaking of food in the New World continued the habits of the Old. In West and Central Africa the starchy main dish of millet or rice or maize (after 1500) is usually boiled in a large jar; a vegetable relish with a little meat or fish added is cooked in a smaller one. The main dish is then served in a large bowl, the relish in smaller ones. Sitting upon the ground in a group, native Africans take a ball of the starchy main dish in their hands and dip it into the relish. That this custom is widespread in space and time is borne out by travelers' accounts from Mali in

1352, the Gambia River in 1623, Sierra Leone in 1803, and Angola in 1865, down to the present-day Mossi and the Dukkawa of Nigeria.

The communal African style of cooking, eating, and drinking, learned by children from their parents, survived in America. Such techniques may have furnished antecedents for the stewed hominy, potages, pileaus, and "Hoppin' John" that sea island slaves cooked in iron pots and served in ceramic bowls. The spade of the archeologist confirms the memory of ex-slaves of Tidewater Georgia in the late 1930s who recalled how the old folks fresh from Africa sat on the ground and ate with their fingers out of a bowl. African foodways also influenced whites. Many insist that okra soup doesn't taste right unless it is cooked slowly in an earthenware vessel. A good black cook created more than a satisfying meal; she also perpetuated an African-derived culture.

Men of Iron

From the early years of the colony men of African origin labored as blacksmiths in the manufacture of iron goods. In the rural areas their skill was needed in the making of nails, hinges, screws, bolts, rakes, tubs, weights, and all other metal goods. In the town the ironmaster became a specialist in great demand as able black workers labored together developing their own craft traditions. Skill in the foundry was a two-edged sword --literally; slave blacksmiths supplied the Denmark Vesey insurrection of 1822 with daggers, bayonets, pikes, and swords.

Charleston, like New Orleans, became famous for its delicate nineteenth century wrought iron work. Black and white craftsmen were employed in the production of such ornamental masterpieces as the gates of St. Philips Church, Hibernian Hall, and the famous Sword Gate. "Uncle Toby" Richardson, a top rank artist in iron, was the leader of five African American workmen who carried out his plans.

The tradition still lived in the twentieth century in Philip Simmons, a modern ornamental ironworker of Charleston who learned his trade from Peter Simmons (no kin), an ex-slave, who in turn learned from his father Guy Simmons. Philip's tremendous vision is the first step in the creative process; he trains his eyes and hands to reproduce the image in his mind, sketches it on paper, then draws it in chalk. Yet as the metal parts are forged, his mental picture is modified. The struggle in his mind to make his vision clear lends vitality to his creations, such as his repeated efforts to get the eye of the snake to look alive. Just as he recognizes that no two leaves in nature are identical, he produces individual leaves in the ironwork of a screen partition. As he works and views the product of his labor he says repeatedly:

"That's got it; that's the one; that's the one." It is tempting to derive specific forms in colonial ironwork from African ancestors. One eighteenth century wrought-iron statue found in slave quarters in Alexandria, Virginia, with linear body and limbs expressing the essence of the human form, bears a striking resemblance to the sculpture of the Bamana of Mali. The copper rice tester, plunged into the depth of a full barrel to determine its quality, is similar to the ceremonial Po spoon or rice scoop of Liberia handed down through generations as an honorific emblem of the chief's mother or wife. But the few links in the chain of metal work of the Gullah people and their African ancestors are nebulous and modified by time and necessity.The designs of the Carolina craftsmen are essentially Euro-American dictated by the needs and tastes of whites. The African heritage and ability, guided by improvisation, combined with them to create a unique symphony in iron.

Wood Carving

Cooper of Yamacraw near Savannah well deserved his nickname "Stick Daddy" for his carving of slender walking sticks with reptilian designs. Lifelike snakes, lizards, or alligators appear to crawl up these canes, made more realistic by low relief and a stain that distinguishes them from the background wood. William Rogers of Darien carved a heavy cane topped by a man's head with small, high-set ears, broad mouth, and eyes of blue beads held in by minute steel nailheads as short little arms and four-fingered hands clutch the

sides of the bust. Below is a carefully executed alligator stretched vertically against the shaft, as though climbing on the man's trunk. Its limbs grasping the sides, a grid of incisions to replicate scales on its back, and beads for eyes, enhance the graphic yet stylized portrait of the animal.

Equally impressive is a wooden frog carved by Rogers which looks as if it is about to catch an insect. Its powerful shoulders lift the massive, rounded body above the base; eyes of beads, secured by minute brass nails for pupils, set in the triangular head, give a realistic feel to the sculpture. Craftsmen also made utilitarian objects, such as a wooden spoon with a sculpted head on the top.

Wood carving and bead-work are well known throughout Africa; natives mix a main medium such as wood with a minor one such as beads. The human and animal figures from the Georgia coast are reminiscent of the mixed media found in the statuary of the Songye and BaKongo of Central Africa and tribes of the Cameroons and Nigeria. Although similar decorated canes come from Holland and from American Indians, the abundance and arrangement of reptiles in carvings from coastal Georgia strongly suggest their likely connection to the ceremonial staffs sculptured throughout Africa. Among the BaKongo, lusumu, special sharp-pointed staffs with idiographic symbols in low relief, combine the function of a walking stick and a stylus. As *suma* means to dig with a pointed stick or to discover, the double meaning is revealed as elders dig with a stick to bring to light hidden issues of the past.

The human figure carved on the Georgia coast is treated in a manner similar tthat found all over Africa.. Polished surfaces, symmetrical postures, geometrical incisions, and serpentine flutings proclaim the trans-Atlantic continuity. One Savannah-made cane that displays a mask form with long spiraling horns and eyes set on sharp raking angles is strongly reminiscent of an Ogoni mask from Nigeria. The face on another is similar to the Poro masks of the Dan people of Liberia and the Ivory Coast. Painting in only one color and carefully smoothed and luminous surfaces are typical of finishing on both sides of the Atlantic.

Beyond all of the content and art style is the mystique behind the wooden figures. Like the snakes that coil around the walking sticks, magic and religion coil around every facet of life of the sea islanders; canes with entwined serpents are called "conjure sticks." Since magic and healing are also interwoven here as in Africa, reptiles may well be employed to ward off the harm of evil spirits, illness, and death. Societies along the Congo River believe that enemies appear in the form of crocodiles and snakes; traditional African American healers cure their patients by presenting them with the cause of their illness in tangible reptilian form. Allen Parker near Savannah, both a sculptor and a conjuror, illustrated this synthesis of art and magic.

The inspiration, skill, style, and symbolism underlying the wood figures of the Tidewater are evidently derived from West and Central Africa. The techniques and many of the forms owe much to the western bulge of the continent, but the deepest meaning stems largely from the Congo-Angola region.

One black wood carver said that the inspiration for his work came as a personal vision. This mystical element, improvisation, and sensitivity for texture combined to produce artistic wooden sculpture on both sides of the Atlantic; practical demands shaped this sculpture in the New World.

Boats and Fishing

The myriad waterways that wind around the sea islands made travel by boat a necessity from the earliest days of settlement, and the teeming fish provided sustenance as well. Blacks have served on these waters as guides, oarsmen, and fishermen for three centuries.

The dugout canoe, usually attributed to the Indians, was also shaped by Europeans and by Africans. The Native Americans used a single log, dug or burned out the center, and left it blunt at both ends; the Euro-

Americans modified it, pointing one or both ends. Such double-ended dugouts are also well known in Africa from Senegal to Angola where skilled seamen have used them for ages.

The Carib Indians of the West Indies made a multiple log boat from several hewn pieces of wood. The French word "pirogue" for this Carib vessel became the piragua, periagua, or pettiauger familiar on the Carolina coast. Made from giant cypress trees, it was described at least as early as 1709 by John Lawson. Sometimes in both Africa and America a sail was added. The bateau or batoe, a flat-bottomed boat with a square stern made of boards that curve upward at the ends and sides to make a bow, may have evolved from the dugout on the sea islands where it was common into the twentieth century. From earliest days blacks not only navigated these boats but also built them, calling upon skills taught in their homeland as well as techniques of Indians and Europeans.

Many Africans, near the coast or lakes, were also experienced fishermen; they readily transferred their talents to the catching of seafood on the Carolina shores where "Fishing Negroes" emerged early in the eighteenth century. Some of them even followed the West African practice of damming a stream, adding a toxin to the waters, and then catching the fish, stunned but nonetheless edible.

Men of the Gold Coast and the Carolina coast are equally adept at the ancient art of catching shrimp or fish with a net. In one clever technique, fishermen of the sea islands rap on the side of a boat or on a drum with increasing rhythm, attracting porpoises who circle the boat and scare fish into their nets. Natives of West Africa off Cape Mirik use a similar acoustic signal, slapping the water to get porpoises to herd mullet into their nets. Significantly, on the sea islands in the winter, when men knit new nets and repair old ones, they use a needle of palmetto wood, much as they do in Nigeria.

Quilts as Cryptic Chronicles

Necessity is the mother of invention. Textiles, initially imported into the colony of Carolina, were soon made from local materials. Although silk cultivation was attempted as early as 1699, and wool and flax were woven, cotton would become the major fabric for clothing and for the household. On the plantations skillful slaves became adept at spinning and weaving, embroidering, knitting and dressmaking, using the materials and techniques presented by the white masters. Yet the African heritage was expressed nowhere more clearly than in quilts, all the more surprising since these padded bed covers came to America from chilly England and Holland, known there since the Middle Ages. However, winters in Carolina could be cold, so the need for warmth, the presence of fabric, and the nimble fingers of Africans made bedfellows -- literally.

Created from any available scraps of cloth of assorted shapes, sizes, and colors, quilts represent the ultimate in the blend of economy, practicality, and esthetics; the very placement of the scraps of varied design and color have a dramatic effect. Most characteristic of the sea islands is the "strip quilt," pieced work in which the rectangular bits of cloth are first sewn into a long strip. The back is cut from lightweight material; batting is placed between the layers as the quilt is stretched on wooden frames. The colors in a quilt convey a deeper meaning than meets the eye, connected to the beliefs and values of the sea island people, as they are in Africa. Red indicates danger, conflict, passion; blue repels bad spirits; white suggests innocence and purity.

Symbolism in design is equally significant. The cross in quilts in the Americas and the Caribbean is not necessarily a Christian symbol. In one quilt made on Johns Island a cross with large, pink arms, contrasting with a dark blue off-center middle section, was seen by residents there as representing danger, evil, and bad feelings. Crosses, reminiscent of the Four Moments of the Sun, could well have found their way into coastal Carolina from Congo and Angola; slave quilters of the past found ways to disguise an African cosmology in their patterns. In contrast to the centrality and symmetry of the squared off designs of European American quilts, the patterns of the African American ones are more undulating or curvilinear. A

staggered strip formation conveys spontaneity; what appears random expresses a freedom of improvisation. The symphony woven into cloth is comparable to the syncopation woven into music. On a more subtle and unconscious level undulating lines correspond to that oblique or indirect manner in personal contacts and modes of speech often found in African American interactions. The illustrations in the book by Fry aptly named *Stitched from the Soul* show that slaves could sew regular, conventional patterns as well as spontaneous ones.

In the sea islands quilts communicate affection and celebrate family history – a marriage, birth, or departure for school. When one accompanies a departing family member, it is a reminder of the powerful ties of kinship. "Members of a family can identify the patches and can tell whose clothing, drapes, or household cloths they were before they did final duty in the quilt tops...The quilts are cryptic chronicles, readable only by those who are initiated into the lexicon and context of the familial documents involved. They are an historical record, a primary source, coming directly out of the life of the family – only understood by them and possibly treasured all the more because of it."

Putting together a quilt is more than a craft. A quilting bee is a traditional social event with food and drink, gossip and song, that brings together families and neighbors and strengthens the feeling of communality. In the past, quilting also provided an outlet for the slaves, establishing a kind of emotional stability and independence, a means of gaining perspective and control.

The link with Africa becomes apparent when the philosophy as well as the fabrics of that continent are examined. With natural fibers so abundant, cotton, wool, and silk were woven in the great kingdoms of the Western Sudan in the Middle Ages. Not only the looms and the colors in the cloth are similar, but also the role of the family in creating the product and improvisation as the guiding spirit in design.

Quilts of the sea islands show striking resemblance in their patterns to the fabrics of West Africa, especially those of Ghana and Benin, where men weave cloth into long narrow strips, cut into usable lengths and edge-sewn together. The appliqued figures in the distinctive cloths of the Fon of Benin (formerly Dahomey) represent events in the history of the people, the African analog to the cryptic chronicle stitched into the quilts of the sea islanders. In the Congo, cloth woven in the past from raffia, a form of palm, became a major export, along with ivory, hides, and slaves, in trade with the Portuguese. Undoubtedly the influence of these ethnic groups survived in the Gullah-speaking people. Just as in folklore, proverbs, intonations in speech, and face vessels, quilts provided slaves with an opportunity to express subtle meanings hidden from their white rulers. Originality against a backdrop of design was molded to practical needs in the textiles created by the sea island people.

Row Upon Row

Nowhere is the re-creation of the skill, the technique, and even the material of an African craft shown more vividly than in the weaving of baskets on the coast of Carolina. Several ladies, like Mary Jane Manigault, weave and sell baskets to tourists along Highway 17 in Mt. Pleasant across the Cooper River from Charleston. Fingers first bend a bundle of grasses into a knot, then coil a thin and flexible binder around it to make a tight bundle. Row upon row, with patience and precision, she twists the grass bundle into an ever widening clockwise circle, turning later coils slightly upward to build the bowl.

The most commonly used foundation today is sweetgrass (*Muhlenbergia filipes*), a longstemmed plant that grows beside the marshes of coastal Carolina. For variety of color the dark brown needles of the long-leafed pine (*Pinus palustris*) alternate with this golden
yellow grass. Binding the coils together in a rhythmic spiral are strips of leaves of palm (*Sabal palmetto*). The tool for punching the hole for the binder, now usually the handle of
a filed down spoon, is called a "bone," for it once was an animal bone. What a variety of articles they produce in so many shapes and sizes -- round baskets and oval baskets, sewing baskets, market baskets and

clothes baskets, fruit baskets with handles, baskets with lids, and elaborate vases for flowers; open work hampers and cake trays; hats and mats; and baskets with filigrees and secondary coils and endless innovations. The weaving of baskets, like the making of quilts, is often a family affair and a social event. Women generally make them, young boys help, men gather the materials, and some weave too. Oldsters teach youngsters, thus preserving a family tradition.

When rice dominated the economy, baskets were common. Mentioned in a will in 1730, they may have been in use as early as the seventeenth century. Essential for processing the grain was the "fanner," a circular, shallow, dish-like basket nearly two feet across. When the threshed and pounded grain from the fanner is thrown up into the air, the wind blows away the chaff. Like the deeper storage basket of the times, it was generally made of black rush, bound with white oak or saw palmetto. Baskets were used in those days for harvesting and winnowing corn, for benne seed and sorghum seed, for carrying corn and peas and other produce, for sewing, and even for collecting money in church.

The value of basket-making is proven by the record of the times. The *Charleston Gazette and Advertiser* for February 15, 1791, announced the public auction of "A Negro Man, who is a good jobbin' carpenter and an excellent basket maker." Some slaves created baskets not only for their own plantation but for sale elsewhere; men no longer fit for heavier work could weave baskets. Indians also made baskets, but the style of weaving and their usage were different. Native Americans strapped a basket to the back by a rope across the forehead; sea islanders carried it on the head like their African ancestors. The art of basketry declined with the demise of rice cultivation, but northern teachers who came south trained young people at Penn School in the art and later African

African American women created today's thriving markets along Highway 17 and in Charleston. Across the Atlantic lies one source of this craft. Most of the plant fibers used, palm and grasses, grow widely in Africa; many baskets made there are much like those of
the sea islands in the coiling technique, in the manner of stitching, and in their use, if not in their color accents. But coiled rice fanners are unique to Senegal and could be interchanged for those on the sea islands. While the concept of the early baskets likely came from Central Africa, the predominant influence probably entered the colony with rice cultivation from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the coast south of it, and diffused widely over the rice kingdom. Baskets, like boats, illustrate the complex interweave of African, European, and Native American traditions that enriched the life of the Gullah.

In Memoriam

Of all the artifacts of the Tidewater, those associated with the awesome mystery of death reveal the most profound and moving retention of the meaning of life. Broken bottles and other ornaments in an African American cemetery are expressions of religion and magic; anything from a pitcher or tumbler to a clock or lamp chimney is piled upon the earth. Closer inspection may reveal a small headstone marking an individual grave. In light of the meaning behind this clustered assortment, it seems a sacrilege to call them grave decorations, for they are an integral part of the belief system of the interred and those who buried them -- offerings to the deceased, yes, but much more. Like the ancient pharaohs, these dead must be given whatever they may need in the next world lest the spirit come back.

Antecedents for this funeral practice have a long history throughout West and Central Africa. Bosman observed earthenware images placed on top of the grave at Axim on the coast of modern Ghana in the early 1700s; the Ekoi of southeastern Nigeria buried devotees of the goddess Nimm under a stick framework with the belongings of the deceased suspended beneath. The Akan people of Ghana and the Ivory Coast honor their dead by placing on the grave pottery, wooden cooking vessels, and terra-cotta portraits. The deceased of the Yoruba today are often buried in the floor of the house and the site marked on an adjacent wall by an embedded china plate.

The most impressive use of objects on the grave comes from Central Africa. In 1884 Glave noted in the Congo that "natives mark the final resting place of their friends by ornamenting their graves with crockery, empty bottles, old cooking pots, etc., etc., all of which articles are rendered useless by being cracked or penetrated with holes." The image of death, the end of things within this world, is indicated by piercing the bottom of a porcelain mug to be placed on the grave. Whether in the Congo or in South Carolina, spiritual presence and surveillance can be summoned by placing on the surface of a tomb china figurines, pitchers, and mugs associated with the departed. To incise the lozenge-shaped Cosmogram, the horizontal line of the cross within a circle that divides the world of the living from that of the dead, upon the side of a terra-cotta grave marker cuts through the materiality of the objects treated and links them to their spiritual doubles, completing the circle of the sun within the kingdom of the dead.

Like the fountain which retains its form even as the drops of water change, Kongo art for the dead remains the same even as it incorporates new expressions in cloth, stone, or terra-cotta. Kongo tombs become ritual earthworks, conceptual doors to another universe, an intricate field of mediatory signs, materially simple but conceptually rich. The inverted
bottles around a Kongo chief's grave make an enclosure or luumbu, transcending time and space, which shields the dead from outside forces and protects the living from the emanations of his power. Echoes of the concept of the tomb as a courtyard or enclosure are found in Carolina when shells mark the grave.

Shells have special meaning in the metaphysics of the Kongo people; they imply immortality through a pun, for *zinga* means both "spiral-form shell" and "to live long." In old days, they conceived of hiding the soul in shells; pressing them into the earth, they prayed: "When you leave for the sea, take me along, that I may live forever with you." Compare that with the words of a black woman from St. Simons Island, Georgia: "The shells stand for the sea. The sea brought us, the sea shall take us back. So the shells upon our graves stand for water, the means of glory and the land of demise." Moored like a transparent vessel through which the grasses of this Tidewater area penetrate, the circle of shells encloses a single broken axis of further shells and flowers. The inner axis is studded with signs of love (the flowers), stretching in a line to guide the spirit, with respect and honor, into the other world.

Those mirrors and other pieces of glass that glitter on top of the grave convey a similar symbolic meaning. Flashing mirrors and glass play a similar role on the graves of blacks in Africa and America. Taken from the dead man's house they hold the spirit at safe distance from the living. A lamp or fragment of a lamp chimney serves a symbolic purpose, for the Kongo lit bonfires on the grave to lead the souls of the departed into the next world.

The last objects used by the deceased are important because his last strength resides in them. To touch them is to receive powerful messages from the dead communicated in dreams; placing them on the grave grounds their awesome potentiality. As one resident of St. Helena explained, even the last drops of medicine remaining from a sick person should be allowed to drain into the earth above the grave to assure healing in the other world and avoid displacement of the spirit. A pipe for smoking or a water pipe also has a symbolic meaning. The stem of either one, found on graves on both sides of the Atlantic, serves to bridge two worlds, one through smoke and the other through water. In the land of the Kongo a tree planted on the grave is a symbol of immortality, for it continues to live even while its roots, moored to the earth, indicate the kingdom of the dead. In 1850 William Cullen Bryant, visiting South Carolina, noted that "a few trees, tailing with long moss, rise above hundreds of nameless graves" of blacks. Myriad examples exist today along the coast; a pine tree soaring from the middle of a grave equals the immortal spirit of the deceased. From a million graves rises a silent plea for understanding of a people, their burden, and their heritage.

The many currents that played upon the material culture of coastal South Carolina and Georgia for two centuries may never be distinguished. Examples cited here are indications, but certainly not proof, of any direct connection of any specific African region to the Low Country. Unless future research on both sides

of the ocean uncovers comparable influences from the western bulge of the continent, it is a safe bet that the Congo-Angola area had an early, pervasive, profound, and lasting effect upon the artifacts of the Tidewater, as it did upon the lexicon and fundamental beliefs of its people.

The material culture of Africa was retained on the coast of Carolina and Georgia because this holdover of memories and talents was useful to blacks and whites alike. Objects with symbolic meaning and emotional impact for blacks, like the cross on quilts or grave-markers, beyond the comprehension of whites, gave added impetus to their survival. Like language and culture, artifacts were re-created in the sea islands from African sources, sometimes influenced by Native American crafts, and molded by the customs and economic needs of Europeans into something new and unique. The events in the latter half of the twentieth century have brought further change to the sea islanders, often threatening their way of life.

Chapter 7. *Revelations: From Darkness into Light*

Ain't you got a right to the tree of life? **- -Guy and Candie Carawan**

For generations the same peaceful way of life continued, filled with hard work but self-sufficiency and satisfaction. Fishermen flung their nets into creek and ocean to catch crabs, shrimp, and fish, and gathered oysters and clams. Farmers hoed the sandy soil to grow vegetables and cotton. Winter was the time for sewing clothes and quilts and mending nets. Evenings and weekends were ideal for the telling of folktales, for basket making, for song and dance, and for the expression of that religious faith and hope, which, like the Gullah speech itself, united the people and reflected their African heritage.

From Civil War to Civil Rights

After the upheaval of the Civil War and the changes of the Reconstruction era from 1865 through 1877, the sea islands experienced relative stability to the end of the century. Following the demise of rice and cotton cultivation, truck farming and tree farming arose in the area. Despite the migration of African Americans from the fields of the South to the cities of the North, beginning after World War I, the population of the sea islands remained rather stable and overwhelmingly black through the first half of the twentieth century. Even in the mid 1950s most natives remained on their local island. In a Charleston clinic where 19 out of 20 black patients interviewed by the author were born in the coastal tier of counties, 85 percent of their parents had also been born there, usually in the same small locality.

Yet the building of bridges and roads, beginning in the 1930s, led in time to commuting and erosion of the isolation that had produced a unique culture. Federal projects created more arable land, improved farming practices, and increased productivity, but pushed residents off the land and introduced a cash-based society. The shift from a barter to a money economy altered the culture and social structure of the Gullah people. More profound change followed the purchase of large tracts of land on Hilton Head Island for their timber in 1950. Entrepreneurs began to consolidate cheap land and "tax land" on the sea islands. Through family inheritance everyone had received a small portion of property; relatives who had moved to New York were offered a small cash settlement for their "heir rights." When tax values rose on waterfront property beyond the financial capacity of Gullah farmers, a "friendly corporation" would pay the tax, buy up the land, and force the natives to move. By 1980 whites outnumbered blacks on Hilton Head five to one. But as Beoku-Betts expressed it, "You can't move the culture and traditions from one area and plant it in another. You can't move Papa from here, sit him in the middle of Atlanta, and say, 'Make your cast net.'"

Between 1930 and 1980, even as the number of blacks on the sea islands increased, the percentage declined, especially after the 1950s and on the islands closest to the city. In 1930 on St. Helena, the most populous island, twenty-four out of every twenty-five people were black. But by 1980 with little change in the total number only three out of every five people there were black. Johns Island, further away from the city, tells a similar story; although its black population gradually increased, the percentage of the total fell

from 87 to 43. On James Island, even though blacks more than doubled their number in that half century, their percentage of the total fell from 79 to 22 as so many white people settled in this area. By 1990, islands nearer Charleston were dramatically different in composition and appearance, although on Edisto and Wadmalaw and the area near McClellanville blacks still outnumbered whites more than two to one.

Where rice fields and shacks once dominated the low and level landscape, exclusive high-rise resorts are now surrounded by imposing walls. "No Trespassing" signs bar natives from the roads they once travelled. Developers threaten the fragile environment and the historic way of life of the black natives who remain. Blacks who fed table scraps to their hogs or failed to remove junk from their yards have even been fined. The number of those weaving traditional baskets on the islands has declined as the needed sweetgrass has been killed by chemical pollutants, and those practicing folk medicine and speaking Gullah has decreased greatly in recent years.

Yet there is hope as natives have become more aware of their rights and opportunities, and new organizations seek to preserve their way of life. The South Carolina Coastal Conservation League and the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Program offer help on land use planning. The Sea Island Preservation Project, launched by Penn Center, trains residents to balance environmental protection and cultural preservation with responsible development. Saving a culture goes hand in hand with saving an ecology.

Political rights also go hand in hand with social and economic justice. During the twelve years of Reconstruction some blacks had achieved positions of prominence and power. But after Union troops left in 1877, white southerners regained control and established segregation of blacks by Jim Crow laws. Whereas the South Carolina Constitution of 1868 had given African Americans the largest political rights, the Constitution of 1895 was for the express purpose of taking them away. It effectively banned blacks from voting through literacy and property tests, and mandated separate schools. There were two sets of everything from churches and schools to restaurants and drinking fountains based on skin color throughout the state and the South.

Septima Clark, a black woman born in Charleston in 1898, was a major driving force in changing that. When she was fired as a school teacher in 1955 for belonging to the NAACP, she discovered Highlander School in Tennessee that was concerned with African Americans, and soon began training others in passive resistance to racial barricades. In 1957 she and Esau Jenkins began a citizenship education school on JohnsIsland to involve black people in the political process. With patience and persistence, despite threats and attempted bribes, they promoted literacy and voter registration, making blacks aware of their rights and potential power. The training of school teachers spread throughout the south, a spearhead of the civil rights movement. When the folksinger Guy Carawan came to Johns Island in 1959, he was immediately impressed with the cultural heritage of the sea islanders, especially their music. Spirituals, folk tales, and game songs performed by the Moving Star Hall Singers were spread over the country in person and by recordings. The song "Keep Your Hand on the Plow" evolved into "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize," a spiritual that became one of the great inspirational themes of the civil rights movement of the sixties. As the title of Carawan's book of pictures and quotations from the people of Johns Island expressed it, *"Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?"*

The Sea Island Comprehensive Health Care Corporation grew out of the Rural Mission and Progressive Club started by Esau Jenkins. Through clinics in the sea islands and those at the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston, African Americans are enjoying better health care today, a major building stone in the quality of life. As more people survive the pestilences of the past that slaughtered so many in their prime, chronic diseases of maturer age take their deadly toll. Not long ago heart disease conjured up a picture of the hard-driving white male, but with changing lifestyles and an aging population, mortality from cardiovascular illness has risen dramatically, especially among blacks and females. The Charleston Heart Study, following 2,283 adults for thirty years, showed no significant difference in death rates between the

races; among women only, blacks actually had a somewhat greater mortality and higher systolic blood pressure than whites.

The picture from Africa is revealing. Nigerian women have more “apple-shape” obesity, with big waists, than their African American counterparts, but without the elevated systolic blood pressure of U.S. blacks. Cardiovascular disease there has been rare--until recently. With changing lifestyles, with greater stress and high fat diets, these diseases are on the increase. They are low in rural areas, where people retain tribal customs, and high in the city, where western ways are adopted. Perhaps Americans can learn something from Africans. Ongoing research at the Medical University of South Carolina also sheds light on such ethnic diseases such as diabetes and osteoporosis. Greater awareness of life-threatening factors, wider education, better facilities, early intervention, better diet, improved lifestyles, and race relations that minimize stress can increase health and longevity for the sea island people and for all African Americans. Good health requires a sound mind as well as a sound body. Vital ingredients include independence, self esteem, and confidence, with hope for the future and pride in the heritage of the past.

The African Heritage

From countless villages they came, speaking dozens of tongues, from the banks of the Gambia River through the forests of the Congo. Usually young, chained and frightened, they were thrust into the hold of a crowded, stinking slave ship and brought four thousand miles to the shores of Carolina and Georgia, directly or through the West Indies. Over two hundred thousand in all came to labor in the fields, shops, and homes of an alien land. With them came skills and memories, beliefs and practices of their homeland. They learned to adapt to strange ways, preserve yet modify their speech and customs, and shape new materials to their own needs and those of the masters. Isolated on large plantations with little migration, most blacks on the sea islands retained their biological and cultural heritage. Rice, that dominated and characterized South Carolina from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century, was one of many crops that illustrates America’s debt to Africans, for slaves were imported for their experience in growing it, especially from Sierra Leone.

The Gullah language, marked by unique intonation and rhythm as well as syntax and lexicon from African languages and English, remains the most characteristic feature of the sea islanders. The African emphasis upon kinship persisted in the New World to provide social and economic strength and the Old World love of communal living. Religion, clothed in Christianity, retained ancient African gods, faith, and practices, to provide the strongest possible spiritual support. Baptism in the river united the initiate with ancestors and nature spirits of the past as well as the society of the present. The funeral must insure that no troubled ghost of the deceased returns to haunt the living. Both the joy and the sorrow of life were celebrated in music. Like their African forebears, the sea island people expressed rhythm in their singing and dancing, often tied to religious ecstasy as in the ring shout. The spiritual, born of the Biblical hope of freedom and salvation, brought out the finest timbre of the African voice and enriched American music. Folklore of the sea islands, re-created with gestures before a responsive audience, preserved African memories, relieved the monotony of slavery, and permitted a sly jab at white masters.

The African feel for texture, familiarity with natural materials, pride of workmanship, improvisation, and necessity combined in the Low Country to produce creative crafts: baskets, quilts, ceramics, wrought iron, wood, and boats. Nowhere is African belief better expressed than in those varied objects of broken glass and shells placed upon the grave that shield the deceased and return his spirit to his gods and forebears.

The cultural traits most retained, although modified, in the sea islands were faith and feelings which promoted survival and did not conflict with the demands of white masters; they were best expressed in the bonds of the extended family, in religion and magic, in music and folklore. The language and culture that developed in the sea islands were more than a retention, more than a mixture, but a creative synthesis borne of memory, necessity, and improvisation in a new environment. With it all, the people preserved an

indomitable spirit that was never crushed by labor or lash, by poverty or prejudice. The flame that flickered never died out and lives on today along the coast. Blacks also had a continuing effect on whites on the sea islands as they did throughout the South. Along with gene flow went the influence of African Americans on the speech and culture of European Americans. Throughout the years of slavery and beyond, through house servants especially, whites derived some African heritage as blacks derived a European one. White children, brought up by black mammies, absorbed stories and songs from Africa along with cuisine, affection, discipline, manners, and a deference to elders. Health involves more than the body.

As essential as good genes, nourishing food, and freedom from microbes are, health also rests upon the human spirit. Belief is vital for healing. The wisdom of ancient Africa continues to play a significant role in the lives of the sea islanders. Their courage, grace, and dignity, molded through years of hardship and the vicissitudes of life, give the Gullah people strength.

The sea islanders of today are threatened by the ever-increasing pace of modern life with its economic demands. They are not a museum piece, relics of the past, but rather survivors of enslavement, bondage, discrimination, and white privilege, fellow human beings entitled to work out their own destiny. Hopefully the best of sea island life, language, customs, and values can be preserved, even as the people take advantage of new opportunities and move into mainstream America.

The Gullah people can cherish individual differences and take pride in a unique heritage beneath the umbrella of our common humanity. They will then have the best of both worlds--and set an example for others. The sea islands will then become more than the "see islands" for tourists; the Tidewater will reach its flood tide; and the Low Country will become the High Country of the African American experience.

The Gullah of South Carolina

A bibliography of materials on the Gullah people

Roslyn Saunders

heap see, but few know

this book is dedicated to the few who know

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Acknowledgments

A book is a pestering experience, it is going back and forth to identify, research, document, and verify information. It is necessary to ask numerous questions. Librarians and library assistants are asked to provide their time, attention, knowledge, and assistance to one person who is trying to bring an idea into reality. I asked and was fortunate enough to have been graciously given time, attention, knowledge, and assistance.

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To Tony Paredes, thanks. Tony is, Dr. J. Anthony Paredes, Ethnographer,
Southeast Region, National Park Service, Project Director for the book. When Tony asked me to research and compile the information about Gullah people in South Carolina neither of us realized how much had been done. The project which was supposed to take less than six months took a year. It stopped, not because there wasn't more which could have been added to the book, but, because we had to put an ending time on the book.

To all those, not named but remembered, who gave supportive words of encouragement thank you.

Introduction

The histories and cultures of the Gullah people have fascinated non-Gullahs for more than two hundred years. An early reference to Gullah as a description of African Diaspora enslaved people in the colonies was used before 1800. The Gullahs have been studied, restudied, and studied again. Their language, stories, spiritual beliefs, foods, music, and life patterns have been analyzed, criticized, and romanticized. The Gullah people I spoke to in the compiling of this book were amazed at the identifiers used to tell them who they were, are, and will be in the future. They were less than impressed with "those in authority" claiming to understand them, be sympathetic toward them, help them understand their own culture, and dictate how Gullah should be preserved for future Gullah generations.

The Gullah people know their language and culture are unique and yet there are variations from location to location. Each rice and cotton plantation was an isolated island where African words, techniques in cultivation, crafts, and/or daily life had minor differences. The Gullah embrace these differences and do not claim nor do they want anyone else to label them as the same from one region to the next.

The Gullah know that rarely have the benefits gained from studying them returned to their community. They are a people who know where they came from, where they are today, and where their culture is evolving to. I'm not sure if the outside world knows as much as it thinks it knows about these people. The memories of enslavement, the "big gun shot" of the Civil War, the years of threats and intimidation experienced after the Civil War called Reconstruction, as well as todays resort development along the coast have had an impact on them. They see again the use of threats and intimidation to get their land and rearrange their culture to benefit non-Gullah people.

They have "circled their wagons" and are looking inward to preserve their culture and heritage. They are the Gullah stayed in the coastal communities and those who have returned from the cities with college and university degrees to reclaim their identity.

The Gullah have begun to document and tell their own story from their cultural point of view. The Gullah are no longer willing to tolerate being told who they are. They are their own future and they will determine how that future evolves.

How the book came together

The time period for the collection of information for the book is after the Civil War during the 1860s to present day. This timeframe was chosen by Tony Paredes because it represents the most prolific period of information written and collected about the Gullah people. However, there are references listed in the book to Gullah prior to the Civil War. This was done because some of the materials are foundations upon which research that came afterward was based.

Using the Post Civil War timeframe and South Carolina coastal region as my primary parameters I compiled information in as many formats as I could find and from as many sources as I could identify. Public libraries in South Carolina contain vast quantities of materials about the Gullah. The South Carolina state library, and Georgetown, Charleston, and Beaufort county libraries are invaluable resources. Public libraries outside of South Carolina include the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture are also resources.

I researched repositories which have information about the Gullah. The repositories were good sources for personal papers of people who had personal contact with Gullah people. People who had grown up on plantations where they played with Gullah children and or people who had lived in households where their parents employed Gullah men and women in a variety of jobs. Many of these papers contain stories stated as told by and in Gullah traditions. Stories, plays, poetry, and music containing characters using the Gullah

language appear in these papers. All of the material - structure, spelling, format, and creation - are written by non-Gullah people.
Sites on the Internet can be accessed via the libraries, as well as keyword searches using - the word Gullah; South Carolina history, lowcountry, and or slavery; rice plantation; or South Carolina sea islands.

Books, personal and family papers, articles in periodicals, films, audio and video tapes of events important in the lives of the Gullah people, and the many doctoral and masters papers focusing on various components of the lives of Gullah people are identified.

This collection is not complete. It is a guide to what is out there and should be used as a starting point.

I annotated as many of the books as I could locate. In each section at least some of the material is annotated. Many of the books were written years ago and are difficult to locate. I have include them because a researcher can, with time and patience, track down the books. Since the major categories contain books of related content those books not annotated are important because they are a part of the larger reference base.

How to use the book

This book is a resource guide of major categories. It is a road map to books, resources, and places where information about the Gullah people can be found. As a resource it is set up on a major heading concept. For example crafts do not indicate which crafts and if the crafts were building related, or food gathering, or creation of products to be sold along the roadside. The researcher will be required to follow the same procedures used in searching any data base. Beginning with the general heading and moving step by step to the specific reference he or she is looking for.

In the books category I annotated as many of the books as I could. However, the cookbooks were not annotated because I felt they needed to be explored and discovered on their own. Some of the books could have been placed in several categories, such as Margaret Washington Creel's *A Peculiar People*. To lessen the need for multiple listings the category History & Culture was used. Books in this category include components such as early African Diaspora history, economics of enslavement, family, lifestyle, and music; South Carolina history and the interrelationship to African history; and books outside of the general categories listing other books.

Books

Included in books are a range of topics. I have not attempted to cross-reference any of the books. I choose to put them in the first major category listed in the Library of Congress publication and identification listing. The person using this guide will need to either have a working knowledge of what he or she is looking for or be diligent enough to locate several sources in the guide and use them as a starting point. The key word concept used in any research project will be very helpful in using the guide.

The categories contain from one to many books depending on the references found and if they met the guidelines for time and contribution to the knowledge base about the Gullah people.

There have been numerous books of fiction written about the Gullah. I choose not to include the majority to them because they were written about the people not by the people. The books were written in a time when romanticizing about the "happy slave/servant" was necessary to maintain the illusion of everyone being in their "appropriate" place.

The two books I did include, *Brown Jackets* and *Old Mitt Laughs Last* do contribute to the larger understanding and knowledge of the Gullah people living on the coastal islands and their role as they saw it in the larger world.

Anecdotes

Information given by members of a community whose individual and collective memories still include experiences of enslavement are more than likely to be what the person listening wants to be told. The community person sees the arrangement as a matter of survival and truth, whatever it is, is best left discussed within the privacy of the community.

Verdier, Eva L.
1932 "When Gun Shoot": some experiences while taking the census among the low country Negroes of South Carolina. Charleston, SC: No Publisher Listed

Verdier chronicled some of her observations and experiences as she went through the Negro community. She recorded information given her by community people.

Art

Art has always been attributed to the African. However, it was not art that represented western cultural concepts. It was primitive, dangerous, savage and represented a people and mindset best controlled by those more civilized and more attuned to a higher order.

Jonathan Green has taken his culture and interpreted it to the larger world. He gives that world a larger picture of the Gullah of his community. Robert Thompson puts the African/African American art in a historical and cultural context. These people were who they were and had a strong basis in art as an interpretation of their place in the universe. They had, as did all people, a system of beliefs of how, when, why, and for what purpose the universe was created and arranged and where they fitted in that arrangement.

Green, Jonathan
1996 *Gullah Images: The Art of Jonathan Green*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

Green brings to his work the Gullah culture he was born into and grew up with. The themes of his art represent the lives of the people on the islands and along the coast of South Carolina.

Thompson, Robert F.
1983 *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*.
New York, NY: Vintage Books

In this book Thompson sets the frame of reference for looking at African art and beliefs from their beginnings in western regions of Africa to their transmigration to the western hemisphere**.**

Biography

Robert Smalls began as a slave and became a larger than life historical figure. He was a visionary, statesman, educator, and leader. Smalls was probably not the only leader among a people emerging from enslavement, he was the one whose life was told in all its vastness.

Miller, Edward A.
1995 *Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls from Slavery to Congress, 1839-1915*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

The story of Robert Smalls during and after the Civil War is told; from his commandeering a Confederate ship, "The Planter", and sailing it out of Charleston harbor to his election to the United States Congress.

Cook Books: Food

Foods are one of the most important parameters for defining a culture. It is also one of the least studied parameters for telling the history and interactions of and across cultural lines. The Africans who survived the Middle Passage came will little but their knowledge of where they came from and on occasion plants and seeds they had grown and eaten.

The planter's table set the standard. Each planter had his own cook-enslaved African women who cooked for the planter, his family, friends, and guests -- in addition to other plantation cooks. The planter's table was so important he measured his standing within the community of planters by the array and elaborateness of the foods and the number of guests at the table.

All others within the European/American community -- non-planters, merchants, businessmen, tradesmen, workers - copied as closely as they could the patterns of the planters in each region. The foods included items introduced from the Native people whose land this was and from the foods and traditions of western African peoples.

Southern cooking is the infusion of foods, traditions, and African women unknowingly creating a style that is today identified with the south and yet not credited to the people who brought it to life.

Burn, Billie
1991 *Stirrin' the Pots on Daufaskie*. Spartenburg, SC: The Reprint Company

Carter, Danella
1995 *Down-home Wholesome: 300 Low-fat Recipes from a New Soul Kitchen*. New York, NY: Dutton

Geraty, Virginia M.
1992 *Bittle en' t'ing': Gullah Cooking with Maum Chrish*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing

Hess, Karen
1992 *The Carolina Rice Kitchen: The African Connection*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina

Nesbit, Martha G.
1996 *Savannah Entertains*. Charleston, SC: Wyrick & Company

Rhett, Blanche
1976 *Two Hundred Years of Charleston Cooking*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

Smart-Grovesenor, Vertamae
1970 *Vibration Cooking*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books

Viola, Herman J. and Carolyn Margolis, ed.
1991 "Savoring Africa in the New World" in *Seeds of Change*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press

Crafts

Africans brought a myriad of skills and knowledge to the colonies in the western hemisphere. The recognition given to African contributions to the building of the plantations has been uneven. It has ranged from total denial to limited acknowledgment to some contribution within a European base of acceptance. The belief that all knowledge and cultural information traveled from Europeans to Africans is still very well rooted in the larger society and among some members of academia.

Chase, Judith W.
1971 *Afro-American Art and Craft*. New York: Van Nostrand

Chase presents a detailed accounting of skills of Africans in America and the history of those skills from their African roots.

Day, Greg
1977 *South Carolina Low Country Coil Baskets*. Charleston, SC: The Communication Center, South Carolina Arts Commission

Tobin, Jacqueline L. and Raymond Dobard
1999 *Hidden in Plain View: The Secret Story of Quilts & the Underground Railroad*. New York, NY: Bantam Books

"Hidden in Plain View" is based on a story told to Tobin by Mrs. Ozella Williams. It is one story on the Underground Railroad of how quilts were used to carry messages and information from and to people who were oral in tradition and forced to remain unlearned.

Fleetwood, William C.
1995 *Tidecrafts: The Boats of South Carolina, Georgia, and Northern Florida, 1550-1950*. Tybee Island, GA: WBG Marine Press

Boats, boat-building, and the cultural influences that determined their construction are presented. Drawings, maps, and reproductions of advertisements are included in the book.

Rosengarten, Dale
1994 *Row Upon Row: Sea Grass Baskets of the South Carolina Lowcountry*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

This exhibition catalog is from a traveling exhibit done on the history of sweet grass baskets made by African American men and women in the lowcountry. Extensive photographs illustrate the variety, beauty, and uniqueness of the American version of an African tradition.

Vlach, John *M.*
1990 The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press

An extensive and detailed historic account of the contributions of African Americans to the decorative arts in the United States is presented.

Dictionary

The Gullah language was a living language, as are all languages. It was not and has not remained an unchanging system of communication. The language varied slightly from plantation to plantation and from island region to island region. Gullah spoken in the cities of Brunswick, Charleston, Georgetown, Savannah, and Wilmington varied from the Gullah spoken on the surrounding plantations and among the

various cities. Today the language still contains the variations which identify its origin and specific cultural ties.

Geraty, Virginia M.
1997 *Gulluh fuh Oonuh: A Gullah English Dictionary*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing Company

A dictionary of the Gullah language as heard on Yonges Island, South Carolina. The dictionary gives the word, its pronunciation, a use in a Gullah sentence, and the sentence translated into English.

Education

For the Gullah people their education has been from the perspective of people other than themselves. That is beginning to change. And the change is causing much controversy. The Gullah are beginning to tell the world who they are.

Brown, Thomas J. and Kitty Green
1998 *Lessons Learned From the Gullah Experience: Powerful Forces in Educating African-American Youth*. Columbia, SC: Brown Publishing

South *Carolina Department of Education*
1994 African Americans and the Palmetto State. Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Education

This social studies text done for middle schools begins in the Middle Passage and comes into the mid-1990s focusing on the contributions of African Americans in South Carolina's history.

Fiction

In the original concept of the book fiction was not to be included because fiction was not thought of as relevant to a scholarly collection of materials about the Gullah. Much has been written about the Gullah as I stated earlier without their consent, input, or whether the information was factual to the actual lives of the Gullah.

I chose to include these the two books because their stories were germane to the complexity of African American Gullah society in this country and the impact of that complexness on the members of the Gullah community.

Heyward, Janie S.
1923 *Brown Jackets*. Columbia, SC: The State Company

Puckette, Clara C.
n. d. *Old Mitt Laughs Last*. New York, NY: The Bobbs-Merrill Company

Herbals, Medicines, Healing Practices

The use of herbal practices has been used to define the primitive nature and inherent backwardness of the African American. African Americans were required to maintain their own health after the Civil War and into the twentieth century because medical treatment by European American doctors was limited at best and non-existent in most regions throughout the country for them.

Edelstein, Stuart J.
1986 *The Sickled Cell: From Myths to Molecules*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Fields, Mamie
1983 *Lemon Swamp and Other Places*. New York, NY: MacMillian Publishing

Lewis, Roger A.
1970 *Sickle States: Clinical Features in West Africans*. Accara, Ghana: Ghana Universities Press

Mitchell, Faith
1998 *Hoodoo Medicine: Gullah Herbal Remedies*. Summerhouse Press

Pinckney, Roger
1998 *Blue Roots: African American Folk Magic of the Gullah People*.
Llewllyn Publications

History and Culture

African American history and culture throughout the sea islands is still being explored. The books listed below date from late Civil War period to the 1990s. The topics include slave songs and music, time as a component of existence, religion, the continuum from Africa to coastal South Carolina and if where and how Africans in South Carolina maintained their Africanisms, women and their roles, and the evolution of the culture of Gullah people.

Adjaye, Joseph K.
1994 *Time in the Black Experience*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press

Afrika, Llaila O.
1989 *The Gullah.* Beaufort, S. C.: The Author

Allen, William F. and Charles P. Ware and Lucy Garrison
n. d. *Slave Songs of the United States*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books

First printed in 1867 as a collection of slave songs sung in the southeastern states and northern seaboard slave states.

American Bible Society
1994 *De Good Nyews Bout Jedus Christ Wa Luke Write*. New York: American Bible Society

The Gospel of Luke is told in Gullah. Beside the Gullah is the King James English text.

Ames, Mary
1992 *"She Came to the Island": A New England Woman's Diary in Dixie in 1865.* Edisto Beach, S. C.: Sea Side Services

Ashe, Jeanne M.
1982 *Daufuskie Island: A Photographic Essay*. Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press

Using photographs Ashe explores the people and places of Daufuskie Island. The book becomes more important because of the major changes that have and are occurring on what many have called the last of the unspoiled low country sea islands.

Ball, Charles
1969 *Slavery in the United States*. Miami, FL.: Mnemsyne Publishing

Billington, Ray A.
1981 *The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten*. New York: W. W. Norton

Forten's journal begins with her school days in Salem, Massachusetts. She was a free black from Philadelphia who was determined to make an impact on the world of slavery. She traveled to South Carolina to participate in an experiment - teaching newly-freed slaves to read and write.

Black, Gary
1974 *My Friend the Gullah: A Collection of Personal Experiences*. Columbia, S. C.: R. L. Bryan

Boyle, Christopher C. and James A. Fitch
N. D. *Georgetown County Slave Narratives*. Georgetown, S. C.: Rice Museum

These narratives compiled during the 1930s by writers for the Works Project Administration are from elderly freed men and women who had been enslaved. They speak of enslavement from the distance of time and memories.

Breen, Thomas H.
1976 *Shaping Southern Society: The Colonial Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press

Bresee, Clyde
1986 *Sea Island Yankee*. Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books

Burn, Billie
1991 *An Island Named Daufuskie*. Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company

Carawan, Guy and Candi Carawan
1989 *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life? The People of John's Island, South Carolina, Their Faces, Their Words and Their Songs*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

The Carawans explore the people and their music. The importance of the music in the daily lives of the people and how and why these musical forms should be preserved.

Coclanis, Peter A.
1989 *Economic Life & Death in the South Carolina Low Country: 1670-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press

Conroy, Pat
1972 *The Water is Wide*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin

Cooley, Rossa
1926 *Homes of the Free*. New York: New Republic

Cooley, Rossa
1970 *An Adventure in Rural Education*
New York: Negro Universities Press

Cornelius, Janet D.
1991 *When I Can Read My Title Clear*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

Cornelius provides an in-depth study of African American urge to educate themselves and their children. The importance enslaved and freed people placed on literacy and how they viewed knowing how to read and write impacted religious and political issues.

Creel, Margaret Washington
1988 *"A Peculiar People" Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs.* New York: New York University Press

Creel's book begins in Africa where the roots of the Gullah cultures grew, intertwined, and crossed the water with the enslaved people. Creel goes on to bring together the different West African and Western European beliefs on the plantations in the Sea Islands. The struggles among differing philosophies, control and dominance of European over African in Christian beliefs, and the transformation of the religious convictions.

Crum, Mason
1940 *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

_____, 1968 *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Dabbs, Edith M.
1970 *Face of an Island*. Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan

Dabbs, Edith M.
1983 *Sea Island Diary: A History of St. Helena Island*. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company

Frey, Sylvia R.
1991 *Water From The Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*.
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

In detailing Africanisms retained in the south Frey includes housing patterns, music, communal values, marriage forms, patterns of slave resistance, and linguistic derivations among the Gullah people.

Georgia Writers' Project
1940 *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

"Drums and Shadows" documents Africanisms and Americanized Africanisms of people who lived along the Georgia coasts in the 1930s. As late as 1858 Africans were still being brought into coastal Georgia and sold. With these people came their languages, traditions, and customs that were passed along to their children and grandchildren. *Drums and Shadows* documents existing customs that survived.

Gomez, Michael A.
1998 "Societies and Stools." In *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. 88 - 113. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press

The alteration of African people, their cultures, histories, and customs occurred as they were forced through a transformation instituted by others. Gomez explores the myriad of African people who came to this country and the diversity they brought with them.

Goodwine, Marquetta L.
1995 *Gullah/Geechee: The Survival of Africa's Seed in the Winds of the Diaspora*. Brooklyn, NY: Kinship Publications

This is volume one of story of the Gullah people on St. Helena Island. The cultures and people who had been forced to come together on slave marches and in slave castles in west Africa and the society they formed on this sea island.

Goodwine, Marquetta L.
1997 *Gawd Dun Smile Pun We: Beaufort Isles*. Brooklyn, NY: Kinship Publications

Goodwine's second volume in a series chronicling the history and culture of the Gullah people of Beaufort and St. Helena Island area of South Carolina.

Goodwine, Marquetta L.
1999 *Frum Wi Soul Tuh de Soil Cotton, Rice, and Indigo*. Brooklyn, NY: Kinship Publications

The history of cotton, rice and indigo cultivation on the Sea Islands are told in this volume. These three cash crops were the reasons for immense numbers of enslaved Africans being brought to the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia. Goodwine's books tell the stories of these people, the enslaved Africans, and how, using their technology and skills brought forth abundant crops which in turn created great wealth for the planters who owned them.

Goodwine, Marquetta L. and Clarity Press Gullah Project, ed.
1998 *The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press

A collection of fact and fiction essays: scholarly articles about art, history, folklore, foods, and lives of the Gullah/Geechee people and their traditions on the sea islands.

Graydon, Nell S.
1986 *Tales of Edisto*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing

Hawks, Esther H.
1984 *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawks' Diary*.
Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina

Hayes, James P.
1978 *James and Related Sea Islands.* Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans and Cogswell Company

Holland, Rupert S.
1912 *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Holloway, Joseph E.
1991 *Africanisms in American Culture*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

Holloway, Joseph E.
1993 *The African Heritage of American English*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

Holmes, Jean E.
1992 *Mornin' Star Risin'*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press

Holmgren, Virginia C.
1986, c1959 *Hilton Head: A Sea Island Chronicle*. Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press

Hudson, Larry E.
1994 *Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press

Jacoway, Elizabeth
1980 *Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment*.
Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University

Johnson, Guion G.
1969 *A Social History of the Sea Islands with Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Johnson, Guy B.
1930 *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press

Jones, Katharine M.
1960 *Port Royal Under Six Flags*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill

Jones-Jackson, Patricia
1987 *When Roots Die/Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands*.
Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

Social history and organization are discussed through structure, economy, and demography. Jones-Jackson helps the reader to understand the spirit of the Gullah people living along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. Their identification of who they are can be drawn from the language, stories, food, customs, and connections to the land.

Joyner, Charles
1984 *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*.
Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press
Joyner uses a plantation in Georgetown County, South Carolina to tell the story of Gullah people on a rice plantation at the height of the rice culture. African rice growing technology, cultural ways, language, and customs give insight into a complex society functioning within a framework of enslavement and desperation.

Kinlaw-Ross, Eleanor
1996 *Dat Gullah and Other Geechie Traditions*. Atlanta, GA: Crick Edge Productions

Leland, Elizabeth
1992 *The Vanishing Coast*. Salem, NC: John F. Blair

Littlefield, Daniel C.
1981 *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University

Littlefield's book is an excellent beginning for those wanting to learn about the enslaved African people who were brought to South Carolina and Georgia. These people were captured and brought for their knowledge of rice growing and also for their skills and knowledge of carpentry, boatbuilding, masonry, seafaring, animal husbandry, and the necessary knowledge to survival in this region.

Martin, Josephine W.
1977 *"Dear Sister"; Letters Written on Hilton Head Island, 1867*.
Beaufort, SC: Beaufort Book Company

Nichols, Elaine, ed.
1989 The Last Miles of the Way: African American Homegoing Traditions 1890-Present. Columbia, SC: Dependable Printing Company

The Last Miles of the Way looks at the traditions of death and dying in the sea islands of South Carolina. Honoring the ancestors, mourning, burial practices, and the African concepts of time and eternity are discussed.

Opala, Joseph A.
1987 *The Gullah: Rice, Slavery and the Sierra Leone-American Connection*. Freetown, Sierra Leone: United States Information Service

Opala looks at the Gullah from their African connection. The Krio language spoken in Sierra Leone and the Gullah language along the coast of South Carolina are compared and connected.

Parrish, *Lydia A*.
1942 Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands. Hatboro, GA: Folklore Associates

Pearson, Elizabeth W., ed.
1969 *Letters From Port Royal 1862-1868*. New York: Arno Press

Pollitzer, William S.
1999 *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

The Gullah People is a comprehensive study. Pollitzer examined who these people are - their story, their origin, their creations, and their legacies. The history, culture, language, social customs and interchanges of this country were and are part of the Africanisms brought over by enslaved people.

Puckette, Clara C.
1978 *Edisto, A Sea Island Principality*. Cleveland, OH: Seaforth Publications

Robinson, Carline S. & William R. Dortch
1985 *The Blacks in These Sea Islands: Then and Now*. New York, NY: Vantage Press

Rose, Willie Lee
1964 *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*. New York: Vintage Books

Rose looks at the events that occurred in the sea islands of South Carolina and north Georgia. About seven months into the Civil War according to Rose the Experiment began. Rose describes its purpose- to provide an organization which would work with the thousands of freed, escaping, and still enslaved African Americans leaving and still on plantations. She also looks at the diversity of cultures of these enslaved people on the various plantations and the African roots of the variations.

Simms, Lois A.
1992 *Profiles of African American Females in the Low Country of South Carolina*. Charleston, SC: College of Charleston

Sterling, Dorothy
1984 *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company

Sterling discusses African American women and their roles, functions, and places before, during, and after the Civil War. References to South Carolina Gullah women, stories, sea island history and culture, and historic figures such as the Grimkes are documented.

Stuckey, Sterling
1987 *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. New York: Oxford University Press

Terry, George D. and Lynn R. Myers
1985 *Carolina Folk: the Cradle of a Southern Tradition*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina

An exhibition catalog of crafts- clay, baskets, metalwork, wood, quilts, and furniture in North Carolina and South Carolina.

Thornbough, Margaret
1972 *Black Reconstructionists*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Tindall George B.
1952 *South Carolina Negroes 1877-1900*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

Tindall details the history of Negro South Carolinians during the period of extreme poverty, racism, lack of educational, political, and economic opportunities. A bleak picture of the conditions under which African Americans lived after the Civil War is described through narratives and direct quotes.

Trinkley, Michael, ed.
1986 *Indian and Freedmen Occupation at the Fish Haul Site, Beaufort County, SC*
Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation

Turner, Lorenzo D.
1949 *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*
Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Twining, Mary A. and Keith E. Baird
1990 *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*
Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press

A collection of articles from Gullahs and non-Gullahs about folklife and folklore on the sea islands. Childbirth, baskets, growing up naming patterns, Christmas Watch and changing agricultural patterns are some of the life in a variety of ways presented.

Weatherford, W. D.
1969 *The Negro From Africa to American*. New York: Negro Universities Press

Whaley, Marcellus S.
1925 *The Old Types Pass; Gullah Sketches of the Carolina Sea Islands*.
Boston, MA: The Christopher Publishing House

Wood, Peter H.
1974 *Black Majority; Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion*.
New York: Random House

In chapter VI, "Gullah Speech: The Roots of Black English" Wood looks at the important of language and the development of a common language among Africans in America. He discusses African groups as "immigrants" and as having similarities to other groups of "immigrants" coming to this country.

Woofter, Thomas J.
1930 *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island*. New York: Holt & Company

Wright, *Roberta H.*
1992 A Tribute to Charlotte Forten 1837-1914. Detroit, MI: Charro Book Company

Language and Dialect

The depth to which African American language and speech patterns have and are being studied is astounding. Why?

Bailey, Guy, with Natalie Maynor and Patricia Cukor-Avila
1991 *The Emergence of Black English: Text and Commentary*. Philadelphia, PA: J. Benjamin Publishing

Bernstein, Cynthia, with Thomas Nunnally and Robin Sabino, ed.
1997 Language Variety in the South Revisited. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press

Cassidy, Federic G.
1986 *Some Similarities Between Gullah and Caribbean Creoles in Language Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White*. ed. Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press

Cunningham, Irma A.
1992 *A Syntactic Analysis of Sea Island Creole*. Tuscaloosa. AL: University of Alabama Press

Dandy, Evelyn
1991 *Black Communications: Breaking Down the Barriers*. Chicago, IL: African American Images

Dillard, J. L.
1972 *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States*
New York: Random House

Geraty, Virginia M.
n.d. *Gullah ForYou*. Charleston, SC: Publisher Unknown

Anonyous
n. d. *Gullah*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press

Holloway Joseph E.
1993 *The African Heritage of American English*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

Hopkins, Tometro
1994 "Variation in the Use of the Auxiliary Verb da in Contemporary Gullah" in *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture*. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 60-86. University of Georgia Press

LePage, R. B. and Andre Tabouret-Keller
1985 *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press

Montgomery, Michael, ed.
1994 *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

The origins and development of the Gullah language and culture are examined through religion, basketry, names and naming traditions, and the Caribbean connection in the essays presented.

Morgan, Marcyliena H. ed.
1994 *Language and the Social Construction of Identify in Creole Situations*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California

Mufwene, Salikoko S., ed., with assistance of Nancy Condon
1993 *Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

A collection of papers by linguists discussing the inclusion and influences of African languages in African American language structure.

Nodal, Roberto
1972 *A Bibliography on the Creole Languages of the Caribbean, Including a Special Supplement on Gullah*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press

Reeves, Harold S.
1963 *Gullah: A Breath of the Carolina Low Country*. Published by Author

Smith Reed
1926 *Gullah: Dedicated to the Memory of Ambrose E. Gonzales*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina

Smitherman, Geneva
1986 *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press

On pages 14-15, and 172 Smitherman discusses the Gullah/Geechee "dialect" spoken along the Atlantic coast in Georgia and South Carolina and its African origin.

Turner, Lorenzo Dow
1945 Notes on the Sounds and Vocabulary of Gullah. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press

_____, 1949 Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

The first major study of remnants of several African languages still being spoken in the islands off South Carolina by African Americans in the 1940's.

Wolfram, Walt and Nona H. Clarke. ed.
1971 *Black-White Speech Relationships*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics

Photography

Photographs are small stories held in a time capsule. The people of the sea islands are telling their stories through the photographs. Moments in their lives are seen in what they are doing. Their history and their culture is shared and preserved for the future.

Dabbs, Edith M.
1970 *Face of an Island*. Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan

Daise, Ronald
1986 *Reminiscences of Sea Island Heritage*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing

The story of the sea islands is told in photographs, poems, and short essays using St. Helena Island, South Carolina as the focus. The strong sense of community, of people, of place is seen in the images collected by Ronald Daise.

Ulman, Doris
1918 *Photographs by Doris Ulman: the Gullah people*. New York: New York Public Library/Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

Plays

Plays can be interpretations of how non-Gullah romanticize a people and should be understood as looking at a people through filters. Plays by and about a specific group as in Wilkerson's book give a more representational sampling of that group and how they view their place in the universe.

Geraty, Virginia M.
1990 *Porgy. Gullah/Porgy: A Gullah Version from the original play by Dorothy Heyward and DuBose Heyward*. Charleston, SC: Wyrick

Wilkerson, Margaret B., ed.
1986 *9 Plays by Black Women*. New York: New American Library

Poetry

The inclusion of poetry about and by Gullah people is another medium for seeing either how the Gullah are seen by outsiders or how the Gullah see themselves. The structure of poetry as a story teller is not used often but it is very effective.

Colcock, Erroll H. and Patti L. Colcock
1942 *Dusky Land: Gullah Poems and Sketches of Coastal South Carolina*. Clinton, SC: Jacobs Press

Towne, Carlie
1996 *A Cultural Affair: Poetic Collections about Gullah Life in Charleston, SC*. Charleston, SC: Carlie Towne

Townsend, Saida
1975 *Sketches in Sepia: Gullah and Other Poems*. Mt. Pleasant, SC: Continenal Leasing Company

Spiritual Beliefs, Religion, Magic

African American spiritual, religious, and magical beliefs have long been the focus of extensive studies. African American belief systems have been used as identifying markers to connect them to the baseness of Africans, to define their extreme religious fervor, and to prove how they are still backward and in need to civilizing.

Carter, Harold
1976 *The Prayer Tradition of Black People*. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press

Cornelius, Janet D.
1999 *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press

Cornelius begins with the slave missions and the evolution into the black church. The processes and procedures of that evolution are detailed by Cornelius and the impacts and clashes traditional African beliefs had with European Christianity and the separation, sometimes by force, of enslaved Africans from European churches.

Creel, Margaret W.
1988 "*A Peculiar People", Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs*. New York, NY: New York University Press

Religion and religious customs, social life and customs, and African religious beliefs surviving within the cultural context of enslavement in the sea islands of South Carolina.

Sea Island Translation and Literacy Team: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and Wycliffe Bible Translators
1994 *De Good Nyews Bout Jedus Christ Wa Luke Write*. New York: American Bible Society

The Book of Luke is told in Gullah with English translations of the King James version in the margin.

Stories, Folklore, Folk Culture, Traditions

The importance of story-telling and the stories themselves are an important part of African American culture. Oral stories told and passed down give a range of impressions about who and how the African American sees him and herself in the community and in the larger society. Many of the stories have been recorded by non-Gullah people and racial biases can be read into the interpretations. The interpretations tell as much about the people recording the stories as about the people being recorded and their stories.

Abrahams, Roger D.
1985 *African American Folktales: Stories from Black Traditions in the New World*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books

Abrahams presents stories collected by storytellers and non-storytellers from Zora Neale Hurston to Joel Chandler Harris. The stories Abrahams has included range from the antebellum period to city life and include a range of how to and how not to act, function, think, and be in the larger world.

Christensen, Abigail M.
1971 *Afro-American Folk Lore: Told Round Cabin Fires on the Sea Islands*. Freeport, NY: The Black Heritage Library Collection

Dundes, Alan
1972 *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel; Readings in the Interpretation of Afro-American Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Geraty, Virginia M.
1998 Gullah Night Before Christmas. Pelican Publishing Company

Gonzales, Ambrose E.
1922 *The Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast*. Columbia, SC: The State Company

Gonzales describes the cannibal savage who was given Christianity and a measure of civilization by European Americans. The "slovenly and careless speech" is interesting and rich, containing quaint and homely similes. About 40 Gullah stories are told, along with a glossary of Gullah terms, and 2 versions of the Tar Baby story.

Gonzales, Ambrose E.
1924 *With Aesop Along the Black Border*. Columbia, SC: The State Company

Graydon, Nell S.
1986 "The Negroes" in *Tales of Edisto*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing Company

The chapter entitled "The Negroes" begins with a narrative on the history of the people of African ancestry of Edisto Island, South Carolina. According to traditon many of the enslaved people are descended from a king who was captured, enslaved, and brought to the island.

Hamilton, Virginia
1985 *The People Could Fly: American Black Folktales*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf

This collection of folktales includes animal stories of Bruh Fox, Bruh Deer, Bruh Lizard and Bruh Bear. Escape to freedom, tales of the supernatural, and fanciful tales are illustrated and told.

Harris, Joel Chandler
1883 *Nights With Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation*. New York:

Jackson, Bruce, ed.
1967 *The Negro and His Folklore in 19th Century Periodicals*. American Folklore Society, Biographical and Special Series. Austin: University of Texas Press

Jaquith, Priscilla
1981 *Bo Rabbit Smart for True: Tall Tales From the Gullah*. New York: Philomel Books

The six Gullah tales in the book use Bo Rabbit, Cooter, Rattlesnake, Crane, and Alligator to teach the reader some of the lessons of life. Accompanying each segment is a drawing depicting the action of the text.

Jones, Bessie and Bess Lomax Hawes
1972 *Step it Down: Games, Plays, Songs & Stories from the Afro-American Heritage*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press

Jones and Hawes have put in print a collection of games, etc. Jones learned as a girl growing up in a rural community in Georgia. The games, songs, and plays represent, according to Hawes, some of the many songs in Jones' collection.

Johnson, Guy B.
1930 *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press

Jones, Charles C.
1888 *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast Told in the Vernacular*. Boston, MA: Riverside Press

Kinlaw-Ross, Eleanor
1996 *Dat Gullah and Other Geechie Traditions*. Atlanta, GA: Crick Edge Productions

Mitchell, Allen
1996 *Wadmalaw Island: Leaving Traditional Roots Behind.* Kearney, NE: Morris Publishing

This book is one man's account of the life and times on a Sea Island along the South Carolina coast. The lives of the residents are told in their words and from their views of living in communities where African ties *can still be seen.*

Parsons, Elsie C.
1923 Folk-lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina. Cambridge, MA: American Folk Lore Society

Puckett, Newbell N.
1926 *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina

Stoney, *Samuel G. and Gertrude M. Shelby*
1930 Black Genesis: A Chronicle. New York: The Macmillan Company

Wright Hughes Roberta and Wilbur B. Hughes
1996 L*ay Down Body: Living History in African American Cemeteries*. Detroit, MI: Visible Ink Press

"Lay Down Body" is an expansive exploration of burial practices, stories, African, and Africanisms found throughout the United States in African American burial grounds and cemeteries. From the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia the reader is taken north and west on a journey of learning and sharing. African American placement in history can be seen in past, present, and future cemeteries from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific Ocean.

Doctoral Dissertations and Masters Theses

The doctoral dissertations and masters theses are listed in alphabetical order by last name of author. Topics range from the Gullah language to kinship patterns among women. As often as possible I tried to identify the college or university awarding the degree. I found references in the Charleston County Library, South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Library, and Beaufort County Library.

Albanese, Anthony G.
1967 The Plantation as a School: The Sea-Islands of Georgia and South Carolina, A Test Case, 1800-1860. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University

Anziano, Satina
1998 Lillie: Copula Usage Study of a Mesolectal Gullah Speaker From Federal Writers Project. Masters theses, University of South Carolina

Butler, Alfloyd
1975 The Black's Contribution of Elements of African Religion to Christianity in America: A Case Study of the Great Awakening in South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University

Coclanis, Peter A.
1984 Economy and Society in the Early Modern South: Charleston and the Evolution of the South Carolina Low Country. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University

Cunningham, Irma A.
1970 A Syntactic Analysis of the Sea Island Creole (Gullah). Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Dargan, Amanda
1978 Family Identity and the Social Use of Folklore: A South Carolina Family Tradition. Masters theses, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Davis, Mella
1998 African Trickster Tales in Diaspora: Resistance in the Creole-Speaking South Carolina Sea Islands and Guadeloupe. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University

Day, Kay Young
1983 My Family Is Me: Women's Kin Networks and Social Power in a Black Sea Island Community. Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University

Derby, Doris A.
1980 Black Women Basket Makers: A Story of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Gadsden, Richard H.
1956 Characterization of the Human Hemoglobins. Ph.D. dissertation, Medical College of South Carolina

Gibbons, Letitia L.
1986 A Statistical Analysis of Factors Affecting the Morbidity Rate of Sickle Cell Anemia. Masters theses, Medical University of South Carolina

Gritzner, Janet B.
1978 Tabby in the Colonial Southeast: The Culture History of an American Building Material. Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University

Guthrie, Patricia
1977 Catching Sense: The Meaning of Plantation Membership Among Blacks on St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Hart, Edward B.
1993 Gullah Spirituals in Prayer Meetings on Johns Island, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Haskell, Ann S.
1964 The Representation of Gullah-Influenced Dialect in Twentieth Century South Carolina Prose, 1922-1930. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania

Hawley, Thomas E.
1993 The Slave Tradition of Singing Among the Gullah of John's Island, South Carolina. University of Michigan

Hemingway, Theodore
1976 Beneath the Yoke of Bondage: A History of Black Folks in South Carolina, 1900-1940, Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Heyer, Kathryn W.
1982 Rootwork: Psychological Aspects of Malign Magical and Illness Beliefs in a South Carolina Sea Island Community. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut

Hoit-Thetford, Elizabeth
1987 An Educational History of the Gullahs of Coastal South Carolina From 1700-1900. Ph.D. dissertation, East Tennessee State University

Hopkins, Tometro
1992 Issues in the Study of Afro-Creoles: Afro-Cuban and Gullah. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University

Jones Jackson, Patricia A.
1978 The Status of Gullah: An Investigation of Convergent Processes. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Jordan, Francis H.
1991 Across the Bridge: Penn School and Penn Center. Masters theses, University of Michigan

Joyner, Charles W.
1977 Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck: Antebellum Black Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Lamuniere, Michelle C.
1994 Roll, Jordan, Roll: The Gullah Photographs of Doris Ulman. Masters theses, University of Oregon

Lawton, Samuel
1939 The Religious Life of Coastal and Sea Island Negroes. Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College

Mack, Linda D.
1984 A comparative Analysis of Linguistic Stress Patterns in Gullah (Sea Island Creole) and English Speakers. Masters theses, University of Florida

McGuire, Mary J.
1985 Getting Their Hands on the Land: The Revolution in St. Helena Parish, 1861-1900. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Mille, Katherine Wyly
1990 A Historical Analysis of Tense-Mood-Aspect in Gullah Creole: A Case of Stable Variation. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Moerman, Daniel E.
1974 Extended Family and Popular Medicine on St. Helena, SC: Adaptation to Marginality. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia

Moran, Mary
1981 Meeting the Boat: Afro-American Identity on a South Carolina Sea Island. Masters theses, Brown University

Nichols, Patricia C.
1976 Linguistic Change in Gullah: Sex, Age, and Mobility. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University

Nixon, Nell M.
1971 Gullah and Backwoods Dialect in Selected Works by William Gilmore Simms. Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina

Normand, Kerry S.
1994 By Industry and Thrift: Landownership Among the Freed People of St. Helena Parish, South Carolina, 1863-1870. Masters theses, Hampshire College

O'Cain, Raymond K.
1972 A Social Dialect Survey of Charleston, SC. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago

Olendorf, Andra B.
1987 Highlander Folk School and the South Carolina Sea Islands Citizenship Schools: Implications for the Social Studies. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Purcell, Katherine C.
1997 Reflections From the Well: Julia Mood Peterkin and the Gullah Community. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina

Safrit, Gary L.
1964 An Investigation of Folk-Medicine Practices in North and South Carolina. Bachelors theses, Lutheran Theological South Seminary

Salter, Paul
1968 Changing Agricultural Patterns on the South Carolina Sea Islands. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina

Shriner, Dorothy Sellers
1971 Transect Studies of Salt Marsh Vegetation in Port Royal Sound and North Edisto River Estuaries. Masters' theses, University of South Carolina

Shurbutt, Thomas R.
1979 Historical Archaeology of the Southeastern Atlantic Coast. Masters' theses, on file at Institute for Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina

Shuler, C. Osborne
1984 Values of Comprehensive Study of South Carolina Folk Remedies with Modern Science. Senior's theses, University of South Carolina

Slaughter, Sabra
1979 The Old Ones Dying and The Young Ones Leaving. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Sledge, Mailande C.
1985 The Representation of the Gullah Dialect in Francis Griswold's "A Sea Island Lady". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Smith, Franklin O.
1973 A Cross Generational Study of the Parental Discipline Practices and Beliefs of Gullah Blacks of the Carolina Sea Islands. Ed. D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts

Stark, George L.
1973 Black Music in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, Wesleyan University

Stavisky, Leonard P.
1958 The Negro Artisan in the South Atlantic States, 1800-1860: A Study of Status and Economic Opportunity with Special Reference to Charleston. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University

Thomas, June M.
1977 Blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands: Planning for Tourists and Land Development. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan

Thrower, Sarah S.
1954 The Spiritual of the Gullah Negro in South Carolina. Masters thesis, Cincinnati College of Music

Twining, Mary A.
1977 An Examination of African Retention in the Folk culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University

Watson, Laura S.
1937 Negro Folk-Lore of the Carolina. Masters theses, Stetson University

Williams, Darnell
1973 An Investigation of Possible Gullah Survivals in the Speech and Cultural Patterns of Black Mississippians. Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University

Whaley, Thomas E.
1993 The Slave Tradition of Singing Among the Gullah of Johns Island, South Carolina. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland

Yates, Irene
1939 The Literary Utilization of Folklore in the Works of Contemporary South Carolina Writers. Masters theses, University of Virginia

Library of Congress
American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project

The life histories below are from Charleston, Murrells Inlet, Edisto Island, and Georgetown. The dates where given are 1936 and 1939. These histories along with others are accessible directly from the Library of Congress via the Internet.

Allan, Madaline told to Muriel A. Mann
1939 Mamie Brown, Librarian
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655

Madaline Allan used the name Mamie Brown in the interview. Ms. Allan was school teacher/librarian. In the interview she tells her life story.

Brown, George told to Chalmers S. Murray
1939 Fish, Hominy and Cotton
Edisto Island, SC: Project # 1655

George Brown was a farmer and day laborer. In the interview he used the name July Geddes. He described the social and cultural structure of daily life in his community.

Chandler, Genevieve W.
1936 Chillun Home
Murrell's Inlet, SC: Project # 1885-1

A story told in Gullah describing the tasks done by children on plantations.

Chandler, Genevieve W.
1936 Red Fiah Dress told by Lillie Knox
Murrell's Inlet, SC: Project # 1885-1

Lillie Knox discusses the wearing of a red dress to a funeral. The social implications of what happens when a person goes outside the boundaries of what was considered appropriate behavior are described.

Chandler, Genevieve W.
1936 Pickin Off Peanut told by Lillie Knox
Murrell's Inlet, SC: Project # 1885-1

A conversation mainly in Gullah about the difficulties of married life.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Ophelia Jemison
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655

Ophelia Jemison discusses her opinion of heaven and its relationship to this life.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. One of Ophelia's Reminiscences
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655

In this interview of the last conversation between Ophelia Jemison and her son, Jake, they discuss Jake's dog and his responsibility for taking care of the dog.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. "A Christmas Story"
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655

Ophelia Jemison retells her mother's stories about Christmas before slavery ended. The mother describes the smells of various foods cooking, the dancing, the singing, and the lighting of the log which burned for several days.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Burning of Mt. Zion A. M. E. Church
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655

Ophelia Jemison is asked about the causes of the fire that burned the church. Her answer in Gullah speaks about coveting material items belonging to someone else and what happens when the devil gets someone to act on their evil thoughts and desires.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Bad Spirits
Charleston, SC: Project # 1655

Ophelia Jemison is asked why spirits come back to worry people. Bad spirits come back to worry people they have associated with in life she states in the interview. Ophelia Jemison describes her own experiences with such spirits in the interview.

Jemison, Ophelia told to Cassels R. Tiedeman
n. d. Ophelia do spirits ever follow you?
Charleston, SC Project # 1655

According to Ophelia Jemison only good spirits follow her. Her descriptions in Gullah state how a person should interact with his or her idea of the Divine.

Joint, Martha told to Chalmers S. Murray
1939 Martha Joint, Occasional Servant
Edisto Island, SC

The narrative tells the life story of Martha Joint. The 75 year old woman talks about her growing up, the changes she has seen, storms both personal and natural, and her determination to go on working until she dies.

The Street
1939 The Occupants of the Slave Street at Arundel Plantation
Georgetown, SC

Six stories are told in this narrative. A preacher, 2 cooks, 2 farm hands, and a housewife. Their own names are listed. Fictitious names are used in the text. Arundel Plantation is also given another name, Barondel Plantation. The writer, Margaret Wilkinson, begins the "story" as she turns off the road from Georgetown and onto the road leading to the "street".

Newspaper Articles

Articles from newspapers are listed by last name of reporter. The articles cover stories and events including music, foods, history, culture, social issues, preservation of the culture and history, and life styles among the Gullah in the Charleston, Beaufort, South Carolina and Georgia coastal regions. The articles provide limited background information about the Gullah history and culture and can give the researcher another perspective on who these people were and are.

Abedon, Emily
1998 Georgia Singers Preserve Sea Island Culture. Charleston Post and Courier, June 3: A5
Frankie and Doug Quimby, the Georgia Sea Island Singers, are preserving Gullah history of coastal islands in their songs, games, and interactive audience participation performances.

Agee, Jenny
1998 Group Works to Secure Gullah Culture's Place in Region's History. Coastal Observer, October 1: P1, P2

Ashley, Dottie
1995 Music Hall to Showcase Lowcountry Traditions. Charleston Post and Courier, March 12: D2

In 1995 the Lowcountry Legends Music Hall opened featuring Gullah and Sea Island stories and music.

Bartelme, Tony
1997 Sandstorm. Charleston Post and Courier, November 9: A1
A company wants to excavate sand in the middle of St. Helena Island and the community is banding together to resist the creation of a sizable hole, the trucks, and conditions created by this enterprise.

_____, 1998 Robert Smalls Sailed Away to Freedom. Charleston Post and Courier, February 11: B1
The timeline of the life, deeds, and accomplishments of Robert Smalls, beginning with his use of the Planter, a Confederate gunboat, to escape slavery.

Behre, Robert
1998 Georgia Group Not Afraid to Shout!. Charleston Post and Courier, June 6: A9
The McIntosh County Shouters are carrying on the tradition of the "shout", an African American cultural component, dating back more than 250 years.

Blackman, J. K.
1880 The Sea Islands of South Carolina 1865-1880. Charleston News & Courier, April 22:

Brooke, James
1987 Africans See Their Culture Live in United States South. New York Times, October 25: P5N, P5L

Burger, Ann
1998 Lowcountry's Love-or-Hate Veggie. Charleston Post and Courier, July 15: D1
Okra, brought to this country by enslaved Africans, is a vegetable the eater either loves or hates.

Cook, Mary Ann
1995 Shout Tradition Lives in Exhibit at Avery Center. Charleston Post and Courier, May 18: P1
An exhibition at the Avery Center tells the history of the Shout in coastal South Carolina and Georgia African American communities.

Crews, Walter
1954 Negro Craftsmen Ply an Ancient Art by the Side of a Bustling Highway. Charleston Evening Post, June 27:

Devera, Dora
1997 Tales Preserve Gullah Culture. Charleston Post and Courier, April 3: P1
Jametrice Glisson continues the African American storytelling tradition at Cypress Gardens. Glisson collects Gullah stories and uses them to educate, entertain, and preserve the culture.

Dewig, Rob
2000 Digging for the Gullah's Roots. Carolina Morning News, January 14: P1

Douglas, Tyees
1995 PBS Films a Gullah 'Porgy'. Charleston Post and Courier, August 20: D1

"Porgy: A Gullah Version" featuring Charleston actor and director Michael Nesbitt is filmed at the Garden Theater by the Public Broadcasting System.

_____, 1999 Storytellers Share 'Different Things'. Charleston Post and Courier, May 13: P1
Don Harrell and Tutu Harrell, his Nigerian born wife, are OrisiRisi African Folklore. The Harrells incorporate Ibo, Yoruba, and Hausa language and culture into their African and African American music, dance, stories, and presentation.

Frazier, Eric
1995 Experts Dispute Accuracy of Gullah Version of Luke. Charleston Post and Courier, January 8: C7
The controversy surrounding the translation of the Gospel according to St. Luke has Gullah people and non Gullah European Americans disagreeing on the accuracy of the translation.

Frazier, Herb
1995 Sierra Leone Terrorized. Charleston Post and Courier, January 31: A1
The war in Sierra Leone is causing massive destruction in the country.

____, 1995 Sierra Leone's Election in Doubt. Charleston Post and Courier, February 17: A1
Sierra Leone's civil war threatens political elections.

_____, 1995 Linguists Fear the End May be Near for Gullah. Charleston Post and Courier, March 6: A1
The preservation of the Gullah language will be decided by the Gullah people and their passing on the language to their children and grandchildren within the sea island cultural heritage.

_____, 1995 Time Blurs Family Ties to Ancient Homeland. Charleston Post and Courier, August 7: A11
The lives of 2 women - 1 in Sierra Leone and 1 in Charleston, South Carolina - both basket sellers, are compared by Herb Frazier.

_____, 1995 Transatlantic Link Bonds Lowcountry and Africa. Charleston Post and Courier, August 7: A11
Mary Moran's grandmother taught Mary's mother a song when she was a small child. The song was passed to Mary. Enslaved Mende women brought the song to this country to the rice plantations of Georgia and South Carolina. The song is a funeral song.

_____, 1995 'Gullah Cousin' Kindles Kinship. Charleston Post and Courier, November 9: P2
Upon winning the Ethel Payne Fellowship Herb Frazier travels to Sierra Leone to research the connections between the west African country and South Carolina.

_____, 1997 Genetic Links of Two Coasts Studies. Charleston Post and Courier, March 16: A16
A foundation grant awarded to the Medical University of South Carolina to study the genetic composition of South Carolina and Sierra Leone confirmed the connections between the two groups of African Diaspora people.

_____, 1997 Journey for a Song. Charleston Post and Courier, March 16: A1
Mary Moran and the song taught her by her mother complete the circle returning to the village in Sierra Leone where the song is still sung. The reception Mrs. Moran and her family received was of family coming home again.

_____, 1997 Song Stays Nearly Same Through Ages. Charleston Post and Courier, March 16: A16
The Mende funeral song has several variations, but the basic theme sung in Georgia and Sierra Leone is the same song passed down from mother to daughter.

_____, 1997 Park Service Wants to Spread Word About Gullah History. Charleston Post and Courier, August 30: B3
The National Park Service is reviewing its role in the preservation of the history and culture of the Gullah people at several sites around Charleston, South Carolina.

_____, 1998 Local Site to be Centerpiece of National Exhibit on Gullah. Charleston Post and Courier, March 11: B01
The Charles Pinckney Historic Site, owned by the National Park Service, is a major component of the Gullah story.

_____, 1998 Lowcountry Works on Sierra Leone Ties. Charleston Post and Courier, July 14: B6
Penn Center was the site for the Gullah Connection Workshop and the Friends of Sierra Leone meeting.

_____, 1999 African Link in National Geographic Spotlight. Charleston Post and Courier, February 18: B1

Mary Moran spoke to the National Geographic Society telling the story of the Mende funeral song she learned as a child from her mother in coastal Georgia.

_____, 1999 Lobby for Sierra Leone Peace Formed. Charleston Post and Courier, March 21: B1
An alliance met a Penn Center to lobby the United States Congress to provide funds to stop the war in Sierra Leone.

_____, 1999 Gullahs, Seminoles Share History. The Sun News, Reprint: August 30: C3

Frazier, Herbert L.
1972 Basketweaving Traced to Ancient African Craft. Charleston News and Courier, September 4:

Furtwangler, Carol
1998 Sea Islanders Keepers of African Tradition. Charleston Post and Courier, June 4: D22
The Georgia Sea Island Singers share Gullah history and culture at Spoleto USA celebrating African influence in music and dance.

____1998, Shouters; Audience Left Wanting More. Charleston Post and Courier, June 7: A17
The McIntosh County Shouters educate and entertain audiences at Spoleto USA 1998 Festival "Echoes of Africa".

Furtwangler, William
1998 Sea Island Group Offers Welcome Look at South Carolina Work. Charleston Post and Courier, June 6: A11
In an "Echoes of Africa" performance the Hallelujah Singers
from Beaufort, South Carolina present Gulllah songs and stories.

Greene, Karen
1975 Gullah Studied as Language. Charleston News and Courier, September 28: E4

Grovsner, Verta Mae
1971 What Does South Carolina Lowcountry Mean to Me? Home! Washington Star, Washington, D. C., April

Hofbauer, Lisa
1997 A Sweet Tradition. Charleston Post and Courier, July 6: B01
The Sweetgrass Basket Festival began in Jeannette Lee's front yard. The festival honors the traditions of crafts from Boone Hall plantation where Lee's mother and grandmother lived.

____, 1997 Marker validates History of Sweetgrass Weaving. Charleston Post and Courier, November 23: B3

The dedication of a marker honoring the sweetgrass basket makers on Highway 17 in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina was celebrated. The United States Ambassador to Sierra Leone, community and political leaders, the public, and sweetgrass basket makers attended the ceremony.

Howard, Roseanne
1998 Gullah People's History Studied. The Sun News, September 26: C1, C10

Jones, Patricia
1995 Gullah Culture Lives in Music Hall. Charleston Post and Courier, March 16: P1

Lowcountry Gullah culture, folklore, ghost stories, and spirituals need to be preserved according to Clay Rice of Lowcountry Legends Music Hall.

Kahn, Cynthia
1998 Jewish Group Learns About African Culture. Charleston Post and Courier, May 28: P1
Gullah and Jewish cultures were shared bly students and adults at Courtenay middle School.

____, 1998 Teens Learn Respect for Others' History. Charleston Post and Courier, July 16: P1
Teens from African American and Jewish American communities of Charleston and Washington learn about each other's cultures and the need to address racism, anti-semitism, and all forms of intolerance.

Killingbeck, Rochelle
1995 New Jersey Group Getting Primer on Gullah. Charleston Post and Courier, August 10: A17
The Afriqua Study Group of East Orange, New Jersey visit Charleston to learn about the Gullah culture. The group of adults and youth travel the globe learning about Africa Diaspora history.

Leland, Jack
1949 Basket Weaving African Art Survival? Charleston News and Courier, March 27:

_____, 1971 Two Local Basket Wavers Demonstrate Art in Canada. Charleston News and Courier, July 21:

Lewis, Carol
1983 Low Country Dialect Survives Centuries. The Sun News, February 13: C1

Lione, Louise
1986 The Basket Wavers of Charleston. Charlotte Observer, June 22:

Locklair, Ernie
1974 Ancient Art on Display. Charleston News and Courier, July 21:

Locklair, Margaret
1977 New Program Markets State Handcrafts. Charleston News and Courier, May 1:
____, 1977 Handcraft Guild. Charleston Evening Post, May 6:

Lofton, Sally
1962 A Primitive Art Thrives. Charleston News and Courier, August 12:

May, Lee
1981 Practice of Voodoo on Increase and Some Scientists Not Scoffing. Dallas Times herald, August 23: A17

McCray, Jack
1998 Camp Meeting Promises Uplifting Experience. Charleston Post and Courier, June 5: A15
Alphonso Brown and the Mt. Zion Spiritual Singers perform the Camp Meeting yearly, a celebration of African American spirituals.

McDowell, Elsa
1984 Mary Foreman Jackson Waves Works of Art. Charleston Post and Courier, December 9:

_____, 1997 Janie Hunter Leaves Legacy for Generations. Charleston Post and Courier, June 17: B1
The legacy of Janie Hunter was the Gullah heritage she passed to her children and the generations who

come after them. The music and stories she knew and lived were honored by the National Endowment for the Arts, Smithonsian, Association of Black Storytellers, and others.

McMillan, George
1986 An Island of Gullah Culture (St. Helena, South Carolina). New York Times, February 2: PXX20N, PXX20L

Minis, Wevonneda
1995 Solo Art Show Stars Lowcountry Native. Charleston Post and Courier, April 9: B1
A traveling exhibition portraying Gullah life through the experiences of Jonathan Green can be seen in Charleston at the Gibes Museum.

_____, 1995 Emory Campbell: Keeping Penn Alive Requires All His Time. Charleston Post and Courier, February 18: C1
Emory Campbell is dedicated to Penn Center and the preservation of the history and culture of the Sea Islands.

_____, 1997 Rediscovery. Charleston Post and Courier, March 2: G1
The move to St. Helena Island and the effects on telh island and the 3 people - Arianne King-Comer, Jan Spencer, and Darryl Murphy.

_____, 1997 Quilter Finds New Approach to Old Craft. Charleston Post and Courier, April 24: C1
Marlene O'Bryant Seabrook is an African American quilter. Her themes include a Gullah series - Philip Simmons, Jonathan Green, Blessed are the Children, and Porgy and Bess.

_____, 1998 Folkways in the South: A Lowcountry Primer. Charleston Post and Courier, May 24: D1
The unique identifiers that are Charleston are to be learned by visitors. The Charleston accent, Spanish moss (not Spanish and not moss), Palmetto bugs not cockroaches, no-see-ums, sweetened iced tea, okra - fried or in gumbo, and catfish.

_____, 1998 Embrace the Music. Charleston Post and Courier, June 5: A13
The Hallelujah Singers perform Gullah songs at the Cathedral of St. Luke and St. Paul for Spoleto Festival USA.

_____, 1998 Gullah Culture Preserved in Mixture of Fact, Lore. Charleston Post and Courier, August 30: G7
The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African-American Culture gives the reader an introduction to sea island history and culture. Edited by Marquetta Goodwine, founder of the Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition, the title honors a group a enslaved Africans who walked into the sea on St. Simons Island, Georgia rather than live as slaves.

Neely, Erik
1999 Gullah History Comes to Life. Charleston Post and Courier, February 28: B1

Marquetta Goodwine and Mary Simmons Boyd of St. Helena Island, South Carolina perform at the Black History Month celebration at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina.

Nichols, Jeff
1997 Turning Points Have Shaped City's History. Charleston Post and Courier, April 20: D1
The Denmark Vesey insurrection of 1822 although not successful still had a profound effect on Charleston and the unfolding of history up to the Civil War.

Petersen, Bo
1998 African-American Artists Shine at School Exhibit. Charleston Post and Courier, February 18: B4
Students and staff at Harleyville-Ridgeville High School present an exhibition of art focusing on African American themes as part of the Black History Month celebration.

Quick, David
1997 Marker to Recognize Basketmakers. Charleston Post and Courier, November 20: P1
The marker honoring the sweetgrass basket makers of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina will be dedicated. In addition the women who first began selling baskets on Highway 17 will be recognized.

Rindge, Brenda
1995 'Gullah Gullah Island' has Local Connection. Charleston Post and Courier, December 3: F2

Ronald and Natalie Daise of St. Helena Island are the creators of 'Gullah Gullah Island". The show focuses on children and is based on the Daises theatrical performances about the African American Gullah culture.

Sanchez, Jonathan
1997 Play Shows Island Life, Rural Days. Charleston Post and Courier, October 2: P4

MOJA and The Community Foundation present "Look Where He Brought Me From" a play in Gullah at the Aiken-Rhett House performed by Sea Islanders.

Shumake, Janice
1995 Festival Events Will Share Culture of the Sea Islands. Charleston Post and Courier, September 14: P1

The history and culture of the Sea Islands will be performed, told, sung, and eaten at arts and crafts Sea Island Cultural Arts Festival of Charleston County.

_____, 1998 Island Tour Blends Tea and Gullah Play. Charleston Post and Courier, April 30: P1

The Wadmalaw Gullah Theater and the Charleston Tea Plantation present the Gullah play "Look Where He Brought Me From".

Staff Reports
1995 University of Charleston to Honor Scholar of Gullah. Charleston Post and Courier, May 13: A21

The University of Charleston honors Virginia Mixson Geraty for her work to preserve the Gullah language.

_____, 1995 Grapevine. Charleston Post and Courier, July 31: C1

Charleston, South Carolina is high on the list of places to visit for African Americans looking for historical representations of their history and culture.

_____, 1995 Gullah Version of 'Porgy' Filmed in a Joint Venture. Charleston Post and Courier, August 20: D5

DuBose Heyward's play "Porgy" is to be filmed by South Carolina Educational Television, The Cabbage Row Company, and the ETV Endowment of South Carolina.

_____, 1997 Family Buries Honored Storyteller Janie Hunter. Charleston Post and Courier, June 20: B2

Janie Bligen Hunter, a nationally known Gullah storyteller, was honored by the National Endowment for the Arts, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Association of Black Story Tellers.

____, 1997 A Taste of Charleston. Charleston Post and Courier, October 8: D1

The Greater Charleston Restaurant Association sponsors the Taste of Charleston with a selection of foods including Gullah specials such shrimp and grits, Gullah rice and okra gumbo.

_____, 1998 Haut Gap Middle Celebrates Gullah. Charleston Post and Courier, May 12: D5

A theatrical production of Gullah life is told in “Sea Breezes”.

_____, 1999 Plantation to Honor Black History. Charleston Post and Courier, February 11: D3

Hampton Plantation State Park and the Committee for African American History Observances will present “The African American Experience at Hampton Plantation” for Black History Month.

Stockton, Robert
1970 Teachers To Learn Studying English as Second Language. Charleston News and Courier, June 1: A10

Thompson, Bill
1997 Biography Searches Julia Peterkin’s Life. Charleston Post and Courier, September 6: D1

Julia Peterkin as a southern writer who did not follow the norm is seen in her use of African American plantation slaves in fiction of their lives she penned.

Thompson, Woody
1999 A Touch of Gullah. Georgetown Times, July 21: P1

Toner, Robin
1987 Bible is being Translated into a Southern Coastal Tongue Born of Slavery. New York Times, March 1: P18, P24

Van Drake, Stephen
1999 Gone and Forgotten. Coastal Observer, July 29: Second Front P1

West, Otto D.
1994 Gullah Ways Find Forum at Coastal. The Sun News, February 17: C2

Williams, Barbara S.
1972 Johns Island Cooperative Puts Quilting Skills to Use. Charleston News and Courier, December

Williams, Charles
1998 Affluence, Genealogical Interest Fuel Influx of Black Tourists. Charleston Post and Courier, April 13: D8

African Americans are coming to Charleston to learn the history of enslaved African people and their contributions to the building of the Charleston, the south, and this nation.

Willaims, Paige
1993 Gullah Lost. The Sun News, February 21: C1, C11

Periodicals

Periodicals contain a variety of articles about the culture of the Gullah people. I identified as many publications as I could find and followed leads from bibliographies of authors whose articles I read and listed. I have included articles from the Civil War period, Reconstruction, the 1900s, to the most recent dates available. The periodicals give the most comprehensive cultural data about the Gullah people.

Adler, Thomas
1972 The Physical Development of the Banjo. New York Folklore Quarterly

Anderson, David G.
1982 The Archaeology of Tenancy in the Southeast: A View from the South Carolina Low Country. South Carolina Antiquities 14: 71-86

Anonymous
1948 Note on Gullah. South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 50: 56-57

First printed in 1794 in the South Carolina Gazette, the article presents proof of what was considered the inability of Africans to enunciate certain English speech sounds.

Anthony, Carl
1976a The Big House and the Slave Quarter. Landscape 20: 3: 8-19

1976b The Big House and the Slave Quarter. Landscape 21: 1: 9-15

Arthur Unknown
1937 Sea Grass Basket Weavers: Coastal Negroes Produced Artistic Effects in Useful Articles. Coastal Topics, Charleston, South Carolina April

Arthur Unknown
1970 The Basket Weavers of Charleston. Southern Living 22-26

Arthur Unknown
1992 Senator Hollings Sparks Fund Drive for Historic Penn Center Site in South Carolina. Jet 82: 23: 29

The fund raising efforts of Senator Fritz Hollings to aid Penn Center.

Arthur Unknown
1993 The New Plantations: South Carolina. The Economist 329: 7833: A33

Penn School on St. Helena Island, South Carolina has created the Penn School for Preservation. Working with community groups, environmentalists, and cultural preservationists Penn School is helping African American property owners learn how to protect their land, heritage, and culture.

Babson, David W.
1990 The Archaeology of Racism and Ethnicity on Southern Plantations.
Historical Archaeology 24: 4: 20-28

Bacon, A. M.
1895 Folklore Ethnology: Conjuring and Conjure Doctors. Southern Workman 24: 193-194, 209-211

Although not Gullah specific this article describes the various spells and remedies used in southern African American communities.

Baird, Keith E.
1980 Guy B. Johnson Revisited: Another Look at Gullah
Journal of Black Studies 10: 4: 425-436

Baird speaks of the need to move beyond Guy B. Johnson's views stated in 1930 and reaffirmed in 1967. Baird focuses on linguistic hybridization -- the combination of African languages and English -- as the formation of Gullah.

Baird, Keith E. and Mary A. Twining
1994 Names and Naming in the Sea Islands in The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 23-37. University of Georgia Press

Baker, Philip
1990 Off Target? Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages 5: 107-119

Barnwell, Joseph E.
1893 Transactions of the Sea-Island Relief Committee for the Suffers by the Cyclone of 1893. Charleston Yearbook : 293-296

Bascomb, William R.
1951 Acculturation Among Gullah Negroes. American Anthropologist 48: 43-50

Bascom declares that West African cultural traits among African Americans living along the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia are harder to trace to specific West African language and culture groups than African diasporic people living in the Caribbean, Central, and South America.

_____, 1941 Gullah Folk Beliefs Concerning Childbirth. Andover, Massachusetts Paper at American Folklore Society

_____, 1944 Gullah Superstitions Persist. El Palacio 44: 48

Bascomb, William
1981 African Folktales in America. Research in African Literatures 12: 203-213

Bass, Robert D.
1931 Negro Songs From the Peedee Country. Journal of American Folklore 44: 418-436

Bayne, Bijan C.
1997 Gullah Festivities. American Visions 12: 45

An overview is given of the Gullah Festival held yearly in Beaufort, SC. Historic information about the Gullah people and the town of Beaufort is also included.

Benjamin, S.
1878 The Sea Islands. Harpers' Magazine 57: 839-861

Bennett, John
1943 Folktales of Old Charleston. Yale Review 32: 721-740

_____, 1908 Gullah: A Negro Patois. South Atlantic Quarterly 7: 332-347: 8: 39-52

Bennett, Irma L.
1940 Basket Making in the Low Country. Works Project Administration Federal Writers' Project, South Carolina. Charleston County School Stories

Bennett, John
1908 Gullah: A Negro Patois. South Atlantic Quarterly 7: 332-347

Bennett compares what he terms the three dialects spoken by Negroes - French Creole of Louisiana; the "Negro Useage" spoken in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, western South Carolina, and upper Georgia; and Gullah of the Sea Islands.

Beoku-Betts, Josephine A.
1995 We Got Our Way of Cooking Things: Women, Food, and Preservation of Cultural Identity Among the Gullah. Gender and Society 9: (5): 535-555

Gullah women, food, culture, community, nature, and passing on the traditions are the components of this study. Through food in its cultural context and especially rice Gullah women of the Sea Islands are preserving traditions.

Berry, Brewton
1935 Silver Spoon. Story 65-78

Reminiscences of an old Negro man told in the form of a short story.

Billington, Ray Allen
1950 A Social Experiment: The Port Royal Journal of Charlotte L. Forten, 1862-1863. Journal of Negro History 35: 223-264

Blockson, Charles L. and Karen Kasmauski
1987 Sea Change in the Sea Islands: "Nowhere to Lay Down Weary Head". National Geographic 172: (6): 734-763

The culture of the Gullah people of the Sea Islands from Cumberland Island on the Georgia/Florida border to Pawleys Island along the northern shore of South Carolina is being altered by development, raising taxes, and major changes.

Blok, T. P.
1959 Annotations to Mr. [Lorenzo] Turner's "Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect". Lingua 8: 306-321

Bolton, H. Carrington
1891 Decoration of Negro Graves in South Carolina. Journal of American Folklore 4: 2-4

Bolton states that the Negroes in decorating the graves of family and friends are "following the customs of

their savage ancestors". The burial customs in this paper are inland South Carolina but are similar to customs of Gullah people on the low country.

Borowsky, Anton
1961 Two Low Country Tales. North Carolina Folklore 9: 46-48

Boretzky, Norbert
1993 The Concept of Rule, Rule Borrowing, and Substrate Influence in Creole Languages in Africanisms in Afro-American language Varieties. Salikoko S. Mufwene, ed. Pp. 74-92. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Bradley, Frances W.
1937 Gullah Proverbs. Southern Folklore Quarterly 1: 99-101

The sources for Bradley's Gullah Proverbs are Reed Smith's Gullah and the Charleston Museum Quarterly.

_____, 1937 Southern Carolina Proverbs. Southern Folklore Quarterly 1: 57-101

_____, 1948-1951 A Word-list from South Carolina. American Dialect Society 9-16: 10-73

Bragg, John
1978 A Cantometric Analysis of Folk Music in a Sea Island Community.
North Carolina Folklore 26: 157-163

Brewer, J. Mason, ed.
1945 Humorous Folk Tales of the South Carolina Negro. South Carolina Folklife Guild

Brown, Charles
1977 Charleston, South Carolina Communications Center. Southern exposure 5: 196-198

Brown, Kenneth L.
The Impact of the Labor System on the Evolution of African-American Culture. Department of Anthropology, University of Houston, Houston, Texas

Carawan, G.
1960 Spiritual Singing in the South Carolina Sea Islands. Caravan 19-20: 20-25

_____, 1964 The Living Folk Heritage of the Sea Islands. Sing Out! 14: 29-32

The folk culture of Johns Island, SC is showcased through festivals on the island in 1965. African American history and customs in music and song and their preservation is stressed by Carawan.

Campbell, Emory
1984 Cultural Activities in the Sea Islands in Highlander Reports, Newsletter of the Highlander Folk Center 11

Carter, H.
1978 Kongo Survivals in U. S. Gullah: An Examination of Turner's Material. Paper presented at the Second Biennial Conference of the Society of Caribbean Linguistics. University of the West Indies, July 17-20

Cassidy, Frederick G.
1994 Gullah and the Caribbean Connection in The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture . Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 16-22. Athens: University of Georgia Press

_____, 1986b Some Similarities Between Gullah and Caribbean Creoles in Language Variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White. Michael Montgomery and Guy Bailey, eds. Pp. 30-37. University: University of Alabama Press

_____, 1983 Sources of the African Element in Gullah in Studies in Caribbean Language. Lawrence Carrington, ed. Pp. 75-81. St. Augustine, Trinidad: Society for Caribbean Linguistics

_____, 1980 The Place of Gullah. American Speech 55: 3-16

Cassidy presents points he wants to reconsider from a paper written by Ian Hancock, "A Provisional Comparison of the English-Derived Atlantic Creoles". When and where did the English pidgin develop and where in the development is Gullah.

Chandler, Genevieve
1977 1930's Federal Writers' Project: Collecting Gullah Folklore. Southern Exposure 5: 2-3, 219-221

Charleston County School District
1975 The Ethnic History of South Carolina. Charleston: Charleston County School District

Chase, Judith Wragg
1978 American Heritage From Ante-Bellum Black Craftsmen. Southern Folklore Quarterly 42: 135-158

Chase refutes the notion that Africans in America brought only their physical strength. She details the various crafts, skills, guilds, and the place these contributions occupy in American culture from enslaved and free people, Gullah and non-Gullah.

Christensen, Abigail M. H.
1894 Spirituals and Shouts of Southern Negroes. Journal of American Folklore 7: 154-155

Christensen describes shouts or "religious dances" which she said were survivals of dances used in fetish or idol worship in Africa.

Clark, Verney R.
1974 Preserved Africanisms in the New World. Afro-World Religious Research Series 3: 1-62

Cline, R. I.
1930 The Tar-Baby Story. American Literature 2: 72-78

Coclanis, Peter A. and J. C. Marlow
1998 Inland Rice Production in the South Atlantic States: A Picture in Black and White. Agricultural History 72: 197

The focus is on rice production in inland counties from North Carolina to Florida after the Civil War into the 20th century.

Cohen, Henning
1951 Going to See the Window. Journal of American Folklore 44: 223

___, 1952 A Negro 'Folk Game' in Colonial South Carolina. Southern Folklore Quarterly 16: 183-185

____, 1957 Caroline Gilman and the Negro Boatman's Songs. Southern Folklore Quarterly 21: 116-117
Cohen gives resources for locating early songs of boatmen. He has examples from Gilman's Recollections of a Southern Matron in which she has recorded words for the songs.

___, 1958 Burial of the Drowned Among the Gullah Negroes. Southern Folklore Quarterly 22: 93-97

Cohen describes how the drowned, snake-bitten, and burned were buried in African societies and the relocation of those customs to the Sea Islands.

Cole, Bernadette
1997 The Language You Cry In'. West Africa 29 April - 4 May:
Cole tells the story of Mary Moran, a Gullah woman from Georgia, and her trip back to her roots in a village in Sierra Leone.

Combes, John D.
1972 Ethnography, Archaeology, and Burial Practices Among Coastal
South Carolina Blacks. The Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina The Conference on Historical Site Archaeology Papers 7: 52-61

Combes discusses the importance of recognizing African American burial patterns and burial grounds. What may appear to be dump sites may require additional investigation to make sure that what appears to be junk is not in reality an old burial ground.

Cooley, Rossa B.
1908 Aunt Jane and Her People: The Real Negroes of the Sea Islands. Outlook 90: 424-432

Copenhaver, J. R.
1930 Culture of Indigo in the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia. Industrial and Engineering Chemistry 22: 894-900

Crawford, Dorothy
1950 Gullah Logic. South Carolina Magazine 13

Creel, Margaret Washington
1990 Gullah Attitudes Toward Life and Death. In AFRICANISMS in American Culture, Joseph Holloway, ed. Pp. 69-97. Indiana University Press

Creel provides a comprehensive look at where Gullah views originated among West African coastal peoples and the merging of those views into the culture found along the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

Cunningham, Irma A.
1988 Some Innovative Linguistic and Procedural Notions, Relative to Sea Island Creole, in General: Some Aspects of the Sea Island Creole Verbal Auxiliary in Particular in Methods in Dialectology. Alan R. Thomas, ed. Pp. 46-54. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters

_____, 1992 A Syntactic Analysis of Sea Island Creole. American Dialect Society 75. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press

Davis, Gerald L.
1976 African American Coil Basketry in Charleston County, South Carolina: Affective Characteristics of an Artistic Craft in a Social Context. In American Folklife. Don Yoder, ed. Pp. 151-184. Austin: University of Texas Press

Davis, Henry C.
1914 Negro Folk Lore in South Carolina. Journal of American Folklore 27: 241-254

Davis presents a collection of superstitions, stories, and songs from Negro folk traditions. Davis recognizes the difficulties of separating black lore from white lore and tracing Negro folk traditions back to their African origins.

Day, Gregory
1977 South Carolina Low Country Coil Baskets. The Communication Center, South Carolina Arts Commission Columbia, SC

_____, 1978 Afro Carolinian Art: Toward the History of a Southern Expressive Tradition. Contemporary Art/Southwest 1: (5): 10-21

Deas-Moore, Vennie
1987 Home Remedies, Herb Doctors, and Granny Midwives. The World & I 2: 1: 474-485

Deas-Moore is part of the culture from which she speaks. Her knowledge of plants and medical treatments of African Americans from enslavement to present day is based on ancestor knowledge passed down through the women in her family.

Dett, Robert N.
1925 St. Helena Island Spiritual. Southern Workman 54: 527

DeWolf, Karol K.
1986 Low Country Baskets. Country Home 8: 5: 67-73

Dixon, Melvin
1974 The Teller as Folk Trickster in Chestnut's The Conjure Woman. CLA Journal 18: 2: 186-197

The Conjure Woman written in 1899 by Charles Chestnut was his first novel. It evolved from a collection of short stories first printed in the Atlantic Monthly magazine. Dixon examines Chestnut's use of the trickster, the audience at that time (mainly white), and Chestnut himself as another participant in the story.

Dozier, Richard K.
1974 A Historical Survey: Black Architects and Craftsmen. Black World 23: 4-15

_____, 1976 Black Architecture. New York Amsterdam News

Eastman, Jean
1971 Colloquial Names of South Carolina Plants. Names in South Carolina 8: 19-24

Epstein, Dena J.
1963 Slave Music in the United States Before 1860: A Survey of Sources (Part 2). The Quarterly

Journal of the Music Librarians Association 20: 377-390

The songs of men as they ferried people and cargo between the sea islands and the mainland are more than the songs of "happy" slaves. Epstein has amassed documents and letters referring to the songs and the singers.

Fauset, Arthur H.
1925 Folklore from St. Helena, South Carolina. Journal of American Folklore 38: 217-238

This collection of animal tales, Uncle Tom stories, morals, and songs offers an interesting gamut of folklore from St. Helena.

_____, 1927 "Negro Folk Tales from the South." *Journal of American Folklore* 40: 213-303

Fenn, Elizabeth A.
1985 "Honoring the Ancestor: Kongo-American Graves in the American South." *Southern Exposure* 28: 42-57

"Honoring the Ancestor" provides information on burial practices throughout the southern United States, including South Carolina. Religious beliefs in burial customs from the Bakongo people of Gabon to Angola are seen in burial grounds in the south.

Fitchett, E. Horace
1936 " Superstitions in South Carolina." *Crisis* 43: 360-371

Fitchett states that the creation of folksongs, myths, legends, and superstitions are due to the status given to the larger world by societies which have/had "a minimum of contacts with ideas and mechanical devices".

_____, 1940 "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, SC." *Journal of Negro History* 25: 139-152

Foote, Henry Wilder
1904 "The Penn School on St. Helena Island." Reprint from *Southern Workman*. Hampton, Hampton Institute Press

Forten, Charlotte
1941 [1864] "Life on the Sea Islands." *Atlantic Monthly* 13: 666-676

Forten describes her experiences as a teacher, a northerner, and a free black woman on the Sea Islands. She gives a detailed picture of the people and their customs.

Foster, H.
1983 "African Patterns in the Afro American Family." *Journal of Black Studies* 14: 201-232

Foster begins with a detailed discussion of the structure of the African family and patterns of descent, filiation, and marriage coming to colonies with enslaved peoples. African family patterns and their survival can be seen during and after enslavement.

Gellert, Lawrence
1934 "Negro Songs of Protest: North and South Carolina, and Georgia." *Negro Anthology*

Geraty, Virginia
1989 " The Gullah Language." *Charleston Magazine* 3-4: 12-13

Gibson, H. E.
1962 "African Legacy: Folk Medicine Among the Gullahs." *Negro Digest* 40: (10): 77-80

Folk remedies were part of the traditions on the sea islands around Beaufort, South Carolina. By the mid-1960s the islanders had begun to seek health care from the doctors available. Many islanders combined both forms of health care.

Goines, Leonard
1974 " The Music of Georgia and Carolina Sea Islands." *Allegro* 74: 5

Hair, P. E. H.
1965 "Sierra Leone Idioms in the Gullah Dialect of American English." *Sierra Leone Language Review* 4: 79-84

Hair questions components of Lorenzo D.Turner's 1940's work of the Gullah language. Hair states that Turner's list of 4,000 Gullah words is overstated and that 3,500 of the 4,000 are personal names.

Haley, Alex
1982 "Sea Islanders, Strong-Willed Survivors, Face Their Uncertain Future Together." *Smithsonian* 13: 88-96

Alex Haley visited Daufuskie Island, recording his experiences, with his friend Herman Blake. Blake, a sociologist and Provost of Oakes College, University of California at Santa Cruz, had been working with the people of Daufuskie Island for several years.

Hall, Stephanie A.
1986 South Carolina Field Recordings in the Archive of Folk Culture. Library of Congress Folk Archive finding aid No. 4. Washington: Library of Congress

Hancock, Ian F.
1977 *Further Observations on Afro-Seminole Creole*. Society of Caribbean Linguistics 7

_____, 1980 *Gullah and Barbadian: Origins and Relationships*. *American Speech* 55: (1): 17-35

According to Hancock, Gullah evolved from an earlier Guinea Coast Creole English. This form of communication began along the Upper Guinea coast in the Senegambia littoral.

_____, 1980 *The Texas Seminoles and Their Language*. Austin: University of Texas African and Afro American Studies and Research Center Monograph Series 2: 1

Harris, Joel Chandler
1894 "The Sea Island hurricanes, the Destruction." *Scribner's Magazine* 15

Haskell, Marion A.
1899 "Negro Spirituals." *Century Magazine* 36

Hawkins, John
1896 "An Old Mauma's Folklore." *Journal of American Folklore* 9: 129-131

Old Mauma is Hawkins' Maum' Sue. Hawkins gives examples of remedies he grew up with, the traditions of the low country Negroes, and how they helped shape his life.

Hawkins, John
1907 "Magical Medical Practice in South Carolina." *Popular Science Monthly* 70: 165-174

Herron, Leonora and Alice M. Bacon
1895 "Conjuring and Conjure Doctors." *Southern Workman* 24: 118

Hibbard, A.
1926 "Aesop in Negro Dialect." *American Speech* 2: 495

Higgins, W. Robert
1971 "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70: 42-43

Higginson, Thomas W.
1867 "Negro Spirituals." *Atlantic Monthly* 19: 685-694

Higginson states he is a student of the Scottish ballad and had heard the music called "Negro Spirituals" for many years. Higginson compiled songs he heard in the camps around Beaufort from escaping enslaved men and women from South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Hitchcock, Susan
1995 "Sea Grass Basketry and the Changing South Carolina Landscape." Georgia Landscape School of Environmental Design University of Georgia
Fall Issue

Hitchcock states that the impact of alteration on behalf of change is as important to the landscape designers as it is to the historians and preservationists. Along Highway 17 in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina the history of Gullah people is being destroyed, she states, by rapid and not well thought out development.

Hollings, Marie F.
1979 *Descriptive Inventory of the City of Charleston Division of Archives and Records*. Charleston: City of Charleston

Holm, John
1983 "On the Relationship of Gullah and Bahamian." *American Speech* 58: 303-318

Holloway, Joseph
1994 "Time in the African Diaspora: The Gullah Experience." In *Time in the Black Experience*, Joseph K. Adjaye, ed. Pp. 199-209

Holloway provides a description of African time concepts and their relocation to the plantations on the sea islands. The Gullah and time can be shown to be related to the African ancestors and their oral traditions.

Howe, Mark A.
1930 "The Song of Charleston." *Atlantic Monthly* 146: 108-111

Hubbell, Jay B.
1954 "Negro Boatman's Song." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 18: 244-245

Three examples of songs sung by African American boatsmen are given. The themes vary from a rebuke to honoring a lady to inspiring the oarsmen to pull harder as they row.

Hutchison, Janet
1993 "Better Homes and Gullah." *Agricultural History* 67: 102

In the 1920s the Better Homes in America organization began a series of contest for the best house designs across America. The African American community of St. Helena Island, SC participated in the contests winning throughout the 1920s in the categories for African American designs.

Jackson, Bruce
1976 "The Other Kind of Doctor: Conjure and Magic in Black American Folk Medicine in American Folk Medicine: A Symposium." Wayland D. Hand, ed. Pp. 258-272. Berkeley: University of California Press
This essay compiles examples of uses of folk medicines and some of the studies of African and African American folk traditions.

Jackson, Juanita, Sabra Slaughter and J. Herman Blake
1974 "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource." *Black Scholar* 32-39

Several issues are addressed in this article: a contemporary study of the Sea Islands done by African American scholars sensitive to the culture; survival patterns, present-day Gullah culture, social and psychological concepts surrounding growing up in an African American majority region and the historical consciousness of blacks and whites in the same regions sharing the same plantation last name.

Johnson, Guy B.
1949 "A Review of Africanisms in Gullah Dialect by Lorenzo Dow Turner." *Social Forces* 28: 458-59

_____, 1967 "Gullah Dialect Revisited: 30 Years Later." American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC

_____, 1980 "The Gullah Dialect Revisited: A Note on Linguistic Acculturation." *Journal of Black Studies* 10: (4): 417-424

Jones-Jackson, Patricia A.
1977 Alive: African Tradition on the Sea Islands. Negro Historical Bulletin 46: (3): 95-96, 106

Four distinct and interconnected components of Sea Island Gullah culture and structure are explored - the extended family, religious beliefs, burial customs, and group interactions.

_____, 1978 Gullah: On the Question of Afro-American Language. Anthropological Linguistics 20: (9): 422-427

Gullah as a language not a dialect is discussed. Its development and perpetuation on the sea islands can be traced to factors such as its beginnings in West Africa.

_____, 1981 The Oral Tradition of Prayer in Gullah. Journal of Religious Thought 39: 21-33

_____, 1983 Contemporary Gullah Speech; Some Persistent Linguistic Features. Journal of Black Studies 13: (3): 289-303

Jones-Jackson looks at Gullah spoken in the today of 1983 when the article was written examining three features that set Gullah apart from other forms of African American English spoken in the Unites States.

_____, 1983 The Audience in Gullah and Igbo: A Comparison of Oral Traditions. College Language Association Journal 27: (2): 197-209

Jones-Jackson compares and analyzes the similarities between Sea Island storytellers and storytellers among the Igbo, Yoruba, and Ibebia peoples of Western Africa.

_____, 1984 On Decreolization and Language Death in Gullah. Language in Society 13: 351-362

Jones-Jackson explores the decreolization process and compares Gullah speakers who have frequent contact with standard English and Gullah speakers on remote predominantly African American sea islands.

_____, 1994 Let the Church Say "Amen": The Language of Religious Rituals in Coastal South Carolina in The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 115-132. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Kaplan, Bruce
1990 Gullah: The Unique Culture of America's Sea Islands: the African American Language that gave us Uncle Remus Struggles to Survive. Utne Reader January-February: 37: 23

Gullah culture is threatened by outside development. The people, the traditions, the folklore may all be lost by the next century.

Kirkland, Edwin C.
1942 South Carolina Folk Tales Compiled by Federal Writers' Project. Southern Folklore Quarterly 6: 181-182

Kloe, Donald R.
1974 Buddy Quow: An Anonymous Poem in Gullah-Jamaican Dialect Written Circa 1800. Southern Folklore Quarterly 38: (2): 81-90

Krio, Leone
1975 Creole Features in the Afro-Seminole Speech of Brackettville, Texas. Society for Caribbean Linguistics Occasional Paper 3

_____, 1980a Gullah and Barbadian: Oritgins and Relations. American Speech 55: 7-35

_____, 1986b Texas Gullah: The Creole English of the Brackettville Afro-Seminoles in Perspectives On American English. J. L. Dillard, ed. Pp. 305-333. The Hague: Mouton

_____, 1988 Componentiality and the Origin of Gullah in Sea and Land: Cultural and Biological Adaptations in the Southern Coastal Plain. James L. Peacock and James C. Sabella, eds. Pp. 13-24. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Livingstone, F. B.
1958 Anthropological Implications of Sickle Cell Gene Distribution In West Africans. American Anthropologist 60: 533-562

Livingstone details sickle cell disease in West Africans, however, he doesn't provide any information about the disease in the various countries he lists - Greece, India, Turkey, Sicily, Algeria, Yemen, Palestine, Kuwait, or Tunisia - nor does he offer data addressing the relationship of sickle cell in Africa to other countries.

Lumpkin, Ben G.
1976 The Fox and the Goose: Tale Type 62 from South Carolina. North Carolina Folklore 18: 90-94

Mallory, Maria
1994 Is the Mecca of Africanism Not Long for this World? (Gullah People of St. Helena Island). Business Week, August 15: 3385: 22B

Mallory reports that St. Helena Island is under intense pressure from developers. The future of the Gullah heritage and culture might not last into the next century.

McDavid, Raven I., Jr.
1951 Africanisms in the Eastern United States. Modern Language Association

McDavid, Raven I.
1955 The Positions of the Charleston Dialect. American Dialect Society 23: 35-50

McKim, James M.
1862 Negro Songs. Dwight's Journal of Music 29: 148-149

McKim, Lucy
1862 Songs of Port Royal Contrabands. Dwight's Journal of Music 22: 255

McLaughlin, Wayman B.
1963 Symbolism & Mysticism in the Spirituals. Phylon 24

Mednick, L. and M. Orans
_____, 1956 The Sickle Cell Gene: Migration vs. Selection. American Anthropologist 58: 293-395

Mednick and Orans examine the occurrence of sickle cell in Italy, Greece, India, and other non-African countries. They contend that sickle cell outside the African Diaspora does not support investigations prior to 1945 that sickle cell was strictly an African trait and a racial diagnostic.

Meredith, Mamie
1931 Negro Patois and Its Humor. American Speech 6: 317-321

Mohr, Nancy L.
1989 Treasures on an Island: Preserving the Traditions of South Carolina's Gullah Culture has Long Been the Mission of the Penn School. American Visions 4: 5: 29

The history of Penn School is told in this article. From its creation during the Civil War to the involvement in the Civil Rights movement to 1989 present day community involvements.

Montgomery, Michael
1994 Lorenzo Dow Turner's Early Work on Gullah in The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the

Development of Gullah Language & Culture. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 158-174. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Moore, Janice G.
1980 Africanisms Among Blacks of the Sea Islands. Journal of Black Studies 10: 467-480

Moore investigates her heritage and culture on Yonges Island, South Carolina. She compares the folk life and customs she finds with African traditions.

Moore, LeRoy
1971 The Spiritual: Soul of Black Religion. American Quarterly 23

Morgan, Philip D.
1982 Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880. William and Mary Quarterly 39: 563-599

Morgan looks at the evolution of the task system and the domestic economy the system allowed slaves to develop in their "free" time. The task system may have been used first on coffee and pimiento plantations in the Caribbean.

_____, 1983 The Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid-Nineteenth- Century Low Country. Journal of Southern History 49: 399-420

The structure of the task system on low country plantations in South Carolina and Georgia gave rise to a system of property ownership among slaves - an economy - owned, run, and controlled by slaves, within the larger economy - owned, run, and controlled by the planter.

Morris, J. A.
1947 Gullah in the Stories and Novels of William G. Simms. American Speech 22: 46-53

According to Morris, Simms used a character speaking Gullah in a short story almost 100 years before Ambrose Gonzales. He, Simms had no models to follow in his portrayal of Gullah people. Morris says Gonzales produced a glossary of Gullah words and Reed Smith's laws and analogies produced a framework for the Gullah language.

Arthur Unknown
1894 Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes. Journal of American Folklore 9: 318-319

Moser, Ada M.
1939 Farm Family Diets in the Lower Coastal Plain of SC. South Carolina Agricultural Experimental Station Bulletin No. 319

Mufwene, Salikoko
1985 The Linguistic Significance of African Proper Names in Gullah. New West Indian Guide 59:146-66

_____, 1986 Restrictive Relativization in Gullah. Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages 1:1-31

This paper analyzes in technical detail the relative pronouns and relative clauses in the Gullah language. Comparisons are

identified in other dialects, African languages, English pidgins, and Creoles.

_____, 1986 Number Delimitation in Gullah. American Speech 61: 33-60

Mufwene introduces data indicating that in Gullah number delimitation is not controlled by the same rules as those found in English.

_____, 1989 Equivocal Structures in Some Gullah Complex Sentences. American Speech 64: 304-326

The subordinate clause used in some Gullah sentences and how that clause is used is the focus of this paper. Mufwene examines clauses beginning with fe or se.

_____, 1992 Africanisms in Gullah: A Re-examination of the Issues in Old English and New: Studies in Language and Linguistics in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy. Joan Hall, Nick Doane, and Dick Ringler eds. Pp. 156-182. New York: Garland

_____, 1994 On the Status of Auxillary Verbs in Gullah. American Speech 69: (1): 58

Mufwene asks 2 questions: does the notion of "auxiliary verb apply to Gullah? and is the class of Avs coextensive with that of tense, mood, and aspect markers? These 2 questions prompt the asking of a 3rd question: what is the criterion for an item to be considered an auxiliary verb in Gullah?

_____, 1997 The Ecology of Gullah's Survival. American Speech 72: 69

The survival of the Gullah language according to Mufwene may depend on ecological and economic factors. With less than half a million Gullah speakers the pressures of the changing landscape endangers the future of the sea islands customs and culture.

Mufwene, Salikoko and Charles Gilman
1987 How African is Gullah and Why? American Speech 62:120-139

Mufwene investigates 2 questions attempting to place Gullah in relationship to Creoles and Atlantic pidgins: (1) why are pidgins and creoles different from the languages to which they are lexically related, and (2) why are they similar to each other

Myers, Betty
1976 Gullah Basketry. Craft Horizons 36: 31

Myers expresses concern about the future of the sweetgrass baskets, the livelihood of the women who still sew them, and the lost of an African cultural connection still in existence.

Nash, Jonell
1998 The Gullah Tradition: From the Field to the Pot, Geechees Stir in Spirit. Essence 28: 127

For the Gullah/Geechee people of the Sea Islands food is another measure of who they are. This collection of historical data mixed with recipes and photographs tells how to prepare various dishes indigenous to the islands.

Neuffer, Claude H.
1955 Some Edisto Island Names. Names in South Carolina 2: 2: 14

_____, 1965 The Bottle Alley Song. Southern Folklore Quarterly Fall: 234-238

Arthur Unknown
1948 Note on Gullah. South Carolina Historical Magazine 49: 56-57

Odum, Howard W.
1908 Religious Folk-Songs of the Southern Negroes. American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education 3: 265-365

_____, 1911 Folk Song and Folk Poetry as Found in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes. Journal of American Folklore 24: 255-294

Olson, Tod
1995 Freedom's Wages. Scholastic Update 128: 18

Newly freed slaves tell about real-life conditions for them and their families. The experiences are brutal, racist, poverty-based, and mirror the conditions they had been freed from.

Opala, Joseph
1986 The 'Gullah' Connection. West Africa 19 May: 1046-1048

Opala discusses in a series of interview questions the history and connections between planters of South Carolina, the enslavement and transportation to South Carolina of rice farmers of Sierra Leone; what became of the enslaved people, their cultural heritage on the plantations, and where they are today.

_____, 1987 The Gullah: Rice, Slavery, and the Sierra Leone-American Connection. Unites States Information Service

"The Gullah" article was written in 1987 and reflects the knowledge at that time about the Gullah and the people of Sierra Leone. Opala provides a connection between the Gullah people of South Carolina and Georgia and the Mende, Vai, and Fula people of Sierra Leone and Guinea regions. He takes the Gullah to Florida and the Seminoles and to Oklahoma bringing the people and their history into present (1987) day.

_____, 1990 The Gullahs Come Home West Africa 25 December - 7 January: 2143-2144

A small group of South Carolina and Georgia Gullah go "home" to Sierra Leone in this .

_____, 1990 Double Homecoming. West Africa 22-28 January: 97

Opala relates the trip back to Sierra Leone for 2 Oklahoma Seminole men whose ancestors had escaped the rice plantations of South Carolina and Georgia and fled to Florida. The Seminoles were going home at the invitation of the President of Sierra Leone.

_____, N. D. Momoh Visits the Gullah. West Africa

Opala travels with president Momoh on his visit to South Carolina and the re-establishing of connections with the Gullah relatives.

Orser, Charles E.
1984 The Last Ten Years of Plantation Archaeology in the Southeastern United States. Southeastern Archaeologist 3: 1-12

Parler, Mary C.
1951 The Forty-Mile Jumper. Journal of American Folklore 54: 422-423

Parrish, Lydia
1935 Plantation Songs of Our Old Negro Slaves, with Scores. Country Life 69: 50-54, 62-64, 75-76

Parsons, Elsie Clews
1923 Folklore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina. American Folklore Society 16: 211-213

Peek, Philip
1978 Afro American Material Culture and the Afro American Craftsman. Southern Folklore Quarterly 42: 109-132

Pendleton, Louis
1890 Notes on Negro Folklore and Witchcraft in the South. Journal of American Folklore 3: 301-17

Penn National, Industrial, and Agricultural School. 1910-1951. Annual Reports. South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia

Perdue, R. E.
1968 African Baskets in South Carolina. Economic Botany 22: 289-292

Perdue stresses that sweetgrass basket making is a craft not to be defined as art. He states that this form of basket making appears to come from Africa and was brought here by slaves.

Pierce, E. L.
1863 The Freedom at Port Royal. Atlantic Monthly 12: 291-315

Pollard, Velma
1985 Cultural Connections in Paule Marshall's Prails Song for the Widow. World Literature Written in English 25: 285-98

Pollitzer, William S.
1931 The Negroes of Charleston: A Study of Hemoglobin, Types, Serology, and Morphology. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 16: 241-263

_____, 1972 The Physical Anthropology and Genetics of Marginal People of the Southeastern United States. American Anthropologist 74: 719-734

_____, 1993 The Relationship of the Gullah-Speaking People of Coastal South Carolina and Georgia to Their African Ancestors. Historical Methods 26: 53-68

Popkin, Z. F.
1931 Heaven Bound: An Authentic Negro Folk Drama out of Old Savannah. Theatre Guild Magazine, August 1: 14-17

Pound, Louise
1929 South Carolina Ballads. Journal of American Folklore 42: 76

Powers, Bernard E.
1998 A Founding Father and Gullah Culture. National Parks 72: 26

Powers gives the reader a strong and information-filled article about life on one South Carolina low country plantation in Mt. Pleasant, SC owned by Charles Pinckney, a signer of the American Constitution.

Prevetti, C. A.
1998 Gullah: Songs of Hope, Faith and Freedom. School Library Journal 44: 86

Reeves, Dick
1970 Gullah. Sandlapper 5: 8-11

Rhame, J. M.
1933 Flaming Youth: A Story in Gullah Dialect. American Speech 8: 39-43

Rice, Elizabeth G.
1901 A Yankee Teacher in the South. An Experience in the Early Days of Reconstruction. Century Magazine 5: 151-154

Rickford, John R.
1990 Number Delimitation in Gullah: A Response to Mufwene. American Speech 65: 148-63

Rickford summarizes his paper and Salikoko Mufwene's 1986 paper on number delimitation.

Roberts, Nancy
1979 Gullah Baskets. Americana 7:1: 38-41

Rosenfeld, Jeff
1993 The Forgotten Hurricane. Weatherwise 46: 4: 13

The history of the 1893 hurricane and its effects from Charleston to Hilton Head is chronicled.

Rosengarten, Dale
1985 Field Notes and Interviews, Low Country Basket Project. McKissick Museum, Columbia, South Carolina

_____, 1994 Spirits of Our Ancestors: Basket Traditions in the Carolinas in The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 133-157. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Rosengarten, Theodore
1987 The Reckless Advance of the Modern World: A Review of 'When Roots Die' by Patricia Jones-Jackson. Natural History 9: 66-71

Ross, Joe
1982 The Light on Land's End Road: A Modern Local Legend. TFBS 48: 19-27

Rowe, G. C.
1900 The Negroes of the Sea Islands. Southern Workman 29: 709-715

Salter, P.
1968 Changing Agricultural Patterns on the Sea Islands. Journal of Geography 67: 223-228

Saunders, William C.
1980 Sea Islands: Then and Now. Journal of Black Studies 10: 481-492

This very personal account of life in the Sea Islands in the 1930s and 1940s by Mr. Saunders, a native Sea Islander, shares some of the culture and traditions which he feels are quickly being lost.

Scroggins, Elizabeth McRae
1971 Gullah Baskets. ETV Guide, Columbia, South Carolina, April 1

Seabrook, E. B.
1866 The Sea Islands of South Carolina. Galaxy Magazine

Sengova, Joko
1994 Recollections of African Language Patterns in an American Speech Variety: An Assessment of Mende Influences in Lorenzo Dow Turner's Gullah Data in The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language & Culture. Michael Montgomery, ed. Pp. 175-200. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States. South Carolina Narratives, Volume 14. Washington: Library of Congress

Smiley, P.
1919 Folklore from Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. Journal of American Folklore 32: 363-370

Smith, John P.
1991 Cultural Preservation of the Sea Island Gullah: A Black Social Movement in the Post-Civil Rights Era. Rural Sociology 56: (2): 284

During the 1970s development threatened to eliminate the Gullah culture. Educated and professional Gullah natives are returning and developing a social preservation movement whose purpose is to empower and retain the culture and the land.

Smith, Reed
1926 Gullah. Bulletin of the University of South Carolina, November 190. University of South Carolina Press

Smith looks at the Gullah people, their history, language, customs, folklore, and impact by northerners after the Civil War. He includes many examples of spoken Gullah and cites references done by earlier persons documenting the language.

_____, 1916 Word List From South Carolina. Dialect Notes 4: 344

Snipe, Tracy D.
1998 Coming Full Circle: A Cultural Renaissance on the Sea Islands. The Avery Review 1: 1

Starks, George L.
1980 Singing 'Bout a Good Time': Sea island Religious Music. Journal of Black Studies 10: 437-444

Sacred music plays a very important role in the life of Sea Island people. The connection began during the days of enslaved people when songs evolved from incidents of whippings and other occasions.

_____, 1985 Salt and Pepper in Your Shoe: Afro American Song Traditions on the Sea Islands in More Than Dancing: Essays on Afro American Music and Musicians. Irene V. Jackson, ed. Westport: Greenwood Press

Stewart, John
1998 Review of Catching Sense: African American Communities on a South Carolina Sea Island by Patricia Guthrie. African American Review 32: 343

Stewart reviews "Catching Sense: African American Communities on a South Carolina Sea Island by Patricia Guthrie. What 'catching sense" means and if the process is still going on.

Stewart, Sadie
1919 Seven Folktales from the Sea Islands, South Carolina. Journal of American Folklore 32: 394-396

This small collection of tales focuses on the "deception will be punished" theme which runs through many African/African American stories.

Stewart, Tom and Jolo Sengova
n. d. On the Origins of "Gullah" and "Geechee" MS

Stoddard, A. H.
1944 Origin, Dialect, Beliefs, and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts. Georgia Historical Quarterly 28: 186-195

Stoddard provides an explanation for the development of the "Gulla" language, the merging of African beliefs into Christian concepts, and the persona presented to the larger world by Negroes of coastal South Carolina and Georgia.

Stoney, P. K.
1950 The Incidence of the Sickle Cell Trait in the Negroes from the Sea Island Area of South Carolina. Southern Medical Journal 43: 48

Suttles, W. C.
1965 A Hymn of Freedom-South Carolina in 1913. Journal of Negro History 50:

Swadesh, Morris M.
1951 Review of Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect by Lorenzo Dow Turner. Word 7: 82-84

Szwed, J. F.
1970 Africa Lies Just Off Georgia. Africa Report 15: (4): 29-31

Szwed declares that the enslaved Africans mainly from Senegambian and Congo-Angolan regions were able to maintain much of their heritage and that heritage and culture evolved into a form of "Pan-African

cultural pattern" that has survived till today.

_____, n. d. The Gullah: A Heritage Remembered. Topic 18: 9-11

Talley, Thomas W.
1942 The Origin of Negro Traditions. Phylon 3: 371-376

Taylor, Alrutheus A.
1924 The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History

Thomas, June M.
1980 The Impact of Corporate Tourism on Gullah Blacks: Notes on Issues of Employment. Phylon 41: (1): 1-11

Thomas, J. P.
1930 The Barbadians in Early South Carolina. South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 31: 75-92

Thompson, Robert F.
1969 African Influence on the Art of the U.S. Black Studies in the University: A Symposium. Yale University Press 127, 130-154

Thornton, John
1993 Central African Names and African-American Naming Patterns. William and Mary Quarterly 50: 727

Naming patterns of Central Africa were evident in South Carolina among Africans brought to the low country.

Tobin, Jacqueline
1994 Sweetgrass Basketry: A Cultural Tradition Struggling for Survival. Piecework 68-73

Tournier, Nan
1984 Sea Island Black Quilters. In Social Fabric: South Carolina's Traditional Quilts. McKissick Museum. University of South Carolina

Towne, Laura
1901 Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands. Southern Workman 30

Towne wrote the article on the founding of Penn School shortly before her death. In 1862 when the school began she discusses how it was a learning process for the teachers and the newly freed enslaved people.

Tupper, V. G.
1937 Plantation Echoes: A Negro Folk Music Drama, as Given each Year in Charleston, South Carolina. Etude 55: 153

Turner, Lorenzo D.
1941 Linguistic Research and African Survivals. American Council of Learned Societies 32: 68-89

_____, 1941 Linguistic Research and African Survivals. American Council of Learned Societies 32

_____, 1945 Notes on the Sounds and Vocabulary of Gullah. Publication of the American Dialect Society 74-84

_____, 1948 Problems Confronting the Investigator of Gullah. American Dialect Society, Greensboro 74-84

_____, 1958 African Survivals in the New World with Emphasis on the Arts in Africa as Seen by American Negroes. Presence Africaine

Twining, Mary A.
1967 Review of Carawan's Ain't You Got A Right to the Tree Of Life. Ethnomusicology 2-3: 421-422

_____, 1973 Field Notes on Reactions to 'Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life'. Journal of the Folklore Institute 10: 213-216

_____, 1974 Sources in the Folklore and Folklife of the Sea Islands. Southern Folklore Quarterly 39: 135-150

Twining states that there is a need to develop a comprehensive collection of Sea Island resources for students interested in studying the history and culture of the islands. She states that some of what is available is biased, some material is beyond the reach of students, and other material is dated.

_____, 1975 African/Afro American Artistic Community. Journal of African Studies :569-578

Twining examines present-day historical data on African cultural components in light of the controversy between E. Franklin Frazier and Melville J. Herskovits.

_____, 1978 Harvesting and Heritage: A Comparison of Afro American and African Basketry. Southern Folklore quarterly 42: 257-270

Twining's article compares African and African American baskets, discusses the early history of basket selling in the Mt. Pleasant region during the early 20th century, and the architecture of the sheds built and used by the women.

_____, 1980 Damas and Two Sea Island Poets: A Brief Comparison in Light of the Philosophy of Negritude. Journal of Black Studies 10: 449-460

Twining looks at Negritude within the context of several poems.

_____, 1980 Sea Island Basketry: Reaffirmations of West Africa in
The First National African American Crafts Conference: Select Writings. Shelby State Community College 35-39

_____, 1985 Movement and Dance on the Sea Islands
Journal of Black Studies 15: 463-479

According to Twining movement includes games, dance, songs, religious sermons, and speech patterns in storytelling. For Sea Islanders movement is more - it is the person responding to the storyteller, in the

relationship between the preacher and the congregation, as well as between the dancer and the audience watching.

Twining, Mary A. and Keith E. Baird
1980 The Significance of Sea Island Culture. Journal of Black Studies 10: (4): 379-386

The blending of African and European cultures on the sea islands and the resultant folkways, language, folklife, and customs are unique in this country. Research needs to determine African connections so that cultural origination points are identified.

_____, 1980 Introduction to Sea Island Folklife. Journal of Black Studies 10: 387-416

Twining and Baird present an overview of the sea islands -their history, location, economics, language, religion, and different people create a region which is found nowhere else in the United States.

Twining, Mary A. and William Saunders
1970 One of These Days: The Function of Two Singers in the Sea Island Community. Studies in the Literary Imagination 3: 65-71

Van Sertima, Ivan
1976 My Gulllah Brother and I: Explorations into a Community's Language and Myth through its Oral Tradition in Black English, A Seminar. Deborah S. Harrison and Tom Trabasso eds. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Vlach, John M.
1977 Graveyards and Afro American Art. Southern Exposure 5: 161-165

Vlach provides a cultural and historical framework to explain the African burial practices still being observed among African Americans including the importance of providing the deceased with a proper funeral, the wake or sitting up custom, and the placing on the grave of items used by and of importance to the deceased person.

_____, 1980 Arrival and Survival: The Maintenance of an Afro-American Tradition of Folk Art and Craft. In Perspectives on American Folk Art, Ian M. Quimby and Scott T. Swank, eds. Pp. 177-217. New York, New York: W. W. Norton & Company

Wade-Lewis, Margaret
1991 Lorenzo Dow Turner: Pioneer African-American Linguist. The Black Scholar 21: 10

A detailed account of the development of "Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect" and its 17 year history collecting material, interviewing Africans in Europe, interviewing Gullah African Americans, and living and working in Africa, Brazil, and England.

Wailoo, Keith
1991 "A Disease SUI GENERIS": The Origins of Sickle Cell Anemia and the Emergence of Modern Clinical Research, 1904-1924. Bulletin Historical Medicine 65: 185-208

Wailoo details the early history of the identification of sickle cell anemia as a specific disorder. By 1924 the disease had been characterized to be among "Negroes" or "mulattos".

Waring, Mary A.
1894 Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes. Journal of American Folklore 7: 318-319

Described as “grotesque” Waring gives examples of South Carolina Negro burial customs. She provides antedotes to support her belief that Africans and African Americans are afraid of dead people and this is reflected in their burial customs.

_____, 1895 Superstitions from South Carolina. Journal of American Folklore 8: 251-252

Watts, Jill M.
1986 We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only; Seminole Black Perceptions and the Second Seminole War. UCLA Historical Journal 7: 5-7

Weber, Meryl
1978 Gullah Baskets. Arts and Activities 84:4

Weintraub, Boris
1984 Just An Incredible Country We Live In. Arts Review 2: 1: 14-18

Wexler, Mark
1993 Sweet Tradition: African Americans’ Tradition of Basket Weaving from Sweetgrass. National Wildlife 31: 38-41

Developers and homeowners building near and over what had been marsh are closing off and eliminating the sweetgrass which is used in basket making forcing the basket makers to go farther away to get the necessary grass.

Whitten, Norman E.
1962 Contemporary Patterns of Malign Occultism Among Negroes of North Carolina. Journal of American Folklore 75: 311-325

Whitten focuses on North Carolina; he also includes research by Melville Herskovits, African sources of occultism among African Americans, and direct references to South Carolina and the use of the occult in South Carolina.

Winkoop, A. P.
1970 The Crafting of Sea Island Baskets. Contemporary Corner of the National Antiques Review 28-31

Woltse, H. M.
1901 In the Field of Southern Folklore: Snake Superstitions. Journal of American Folklore 14: 205-206

Work, Monroe
1905 Some Geechee Folklore. Southern Workman 35: 633-635
These examples of folk beliefs include proverbs, animal beliefs, plant superstitions, and miscellaneous beliefs.

_____, 1905 Geechee and Other Proverbs. Journal of American Folklore 32: 441-442

n. d. Basket Making in the Low Country. Works Project Administration Federal Writers' Project, Charleston, South Carolina. South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina

Yates, Irene
1946 Conjures and Cures in the Novels of Julia Peterkin. Southern Folklore Quarterly 10: 137-149

_____, 1947 A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from South Carolina Literature. Southern Folklore Quarterly 11: 187-199

Yates, Norris
1951 Four Plantation Songs Noted by William Cullen Bryant. Southern Folklore Quarterly 15: 251-253

Zinsser, W.
1967 The Tree of Life. Look 6: 18-19

Repositories

The major portion of information about the Gullah people in South Carolina can be found in the libraries, societies, and collections listed below. The information about the Gullah people of St. Helena Island and Penn Center is located at the University of North Carolina not at Penn Center. Avery Research Center houses information about the urban Gullah culture of Charleston.
In addition to papers, books, manuscripts, and audio/visual materials there are collections of artifacts such as baskets, quilts, and other items created by Gullah people. These items are kept as parts of collections of folk traditions representing South Carolina, Africans in America, and testaments to the creativity people existing in extreme circumstances of enslavement created.

Avery Research Center for African American History & Culture
College of Charleston, Charleston, South Carolina

- Books
- Videos
- Audio Tapes
- Manuscripts
- Photographs
- Newspaper Clippings

Beaufort County Library, Beaufort, South Carolina

- Books
- Periodical Sources
- Pamphlets, Brochures, and Booklets
- Unpublished Materials
- Newspaper and Magazine Articles
- Interviews
- Music
- Audio Tapes
- Phonograph Recordings
- Videos
- Films
- Film, 16 mm Format
- Filmstrip with Sound
- Microfilm/Newspapers of the Region

Charleston County Library, Charleston, South Carolina
Books
Manuscripts
Documents
Ph.D. Dissertations and Masters' Theses
Personal Papers

Charleston Library Society, Charleston, South Carolina
Books
Documents

College of Charleston Library, Charleston, SC
Books
Documents
Major Collections of Charleston African Americans
Photographs of Antebellum and Postbellum Periods

Georgetown County Library, Georgetown, SC
Morgan-Trenholm Photography Collection
Books
Maps
Documents

Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition, St. Helena Island, SC
Books
Documents
Newspaper Articles
Artifacts of Gullah Culture

Library of Congress, Washington, DC
Works Project Administration Recordings done in 1930s of freed enslaved men and women

McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC
The Folk Arts Center, a bibliographic file of folk life and arts, is located within the Museum.

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library. New York, NY
Books
Manuscripts
Articles

Parris Island Museum, Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, SC
Photographs
Manuscripts
Museum exhibits
Owns the site and archaeological collections from Santa Elena, Charlesfort, and San Felipe

Penn Center, St. Helena Island, South Carolina

South Carolina Department of Archives & History, Columbia, SC
Information on plantation data
Census Information

South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, SC

Family Papers

Bennett, John
1875-1967

The research notes contain information on black folklore, music, superstitions, Gullah, and slavery in South Carolina. Scrapbooks of musical transcriptions of black spirituals and street cries are also in the collection.

Colcock, Erroll H.
1970 De patch-wu'k quilt

The unpublished fictional tale of plantation life in South Carolina before, during, and after the Civil War. The story is written in Gullah and narrated by an African American woman.

Gadsden Family
1703-ca. 1955 Gadsden family papers

The papers (ca. 1920-1950) of Jeanne Gadsden include a Gullah story about Brer Wolf and Brer Rabbit.

Heyward, Jane DuBose 1882-1939
In the Heyward papers are poetry written in the Gullah dialect and Gullah stories. Jane DuBose Heyward gave public readings in Gullah as a "dialect recitalist" and she was the mother of Dubose Heyward who wrote the novel "Porgy".

McTeer, Mary n.d. Sukie Sue's Limit
The photocopy of a manuscript story by McTeer written in Gullah probably in the early 20th century.

Murray, Chalmers S. 1905-1970
The manuscript of a novel *Here Come Joe Mungin* about African-Americans (Gullahs) on the South Carolina Sea Islands. Additional novels about the Gullah people, sea island life, and other subjects are included. Gullah folklore recorded for a W.P.A. project are in the papers.

Ravenel Family 1746-1941 Ravenel family papers
Rose P. Ravenel's (ca. 1890-1940) Gullah stories about Brer Rabbit and Brer Wolf with anecdotes about African Americans are in the Ravenel papers.

Screven, Jane
Gullah tales and stories

Gullah Singing
Music recorded in 1974 on 5 audio cassette tapes from several Lowcountry churches of Gullah devotional music

South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina,
Columbia, SC
An extensive collection of documents relating to African Americans included in books, manuscripts, guides, maps, newspapers, photographs, dissertations and masters' theses, genealogical collection of the South Carolina State Library, family papers, oral histories

Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC

Personal and Family Papers

Johnson, Guy B. Papers
Writings by students at Rosenwald, Penn, and Mulberry Hill schools. Field notes and research materials collected in 1928 during a stay on St. Helena Island: versions of folk tales, songs, riddles, superstitions, and spirituals are included.

Penn School Papers
Volumes 1-4

Waring Historical Library, Medical University of South Carolina
Charleston, SC
Early documentation of sickle cell anemia
Medical treatment of Africans in America pre-and-post slavery

Children's and Juvenile Books

These books were included because they will provide educators resources that can be used to supplement teaching materials about the Gullah people. When resource material is not readily available many times the history and culture of a people is not included in the classroom situation.

Banks, Sara H.
1997 *A Net to Catch Time*. New York, NY: A. A. Knopf

Branch, Muriel M.
1995 *The Water Brought Us: The Story of the Gullah-Speaking People*. New York: Cobblehill Books/Dutton

Clary, Willis
1996 *A Sweet, Sweet Basket*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing

Daise, Ronald
1989 *De Gullah Storybook*. Beaufort, SC: G.O.G. Enterprises

Daise, Ronald
1997 Little Muddy Waters: A Gullah Folktale. Beaufort, SC: G.O.G. Enterprises

Geraty, Virginia M.
1998 *Gullah Night Before Christmas*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing

Jaquith, *Priscilla*
1981 Bo Rabbit Smart For True: Folktales from the Gullah. New York: Philomel Books

Jones, Hettie
1996 *Spooky Tales From Gullah Gullah Island*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster

Krull, Kathleen
1995 *Bridges to Change: How Kids Live on a South Carolina Sea Island*. New York: Lodestar Books

Patrick, Denise L.
1996 *Case of the Missing Cookies.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster

Reed, Kelli M.
1996 *Happy Birthday Daddy*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster

San Souci, Robert D.
1992 *Sukey and the Mermaid*. New York, NY: Four Winds Press

Seabrooke, Brenda
1992 *The Bridges of Summer*. New York, NY: Cobblehill Books

Siegelson, Kim L.
1996 *The Terrible, Wonderful Tellin' at Hog Hammock*. New York, NY: Harper Collins

Stoddard, Albert H.
1995 *Gullah Animal Tales from Daufuskie Island, South Carolina*. Hilton Head Island, SC: Push Button Publishing

Internet Sites

The lists of Internet sites is extensive. It is extremely important to use sites that are connected to libraries, repositories, universities, colleges, governmental agencies, and reputable connectors. There is much information about African Americans and the Gullah that is racist, inflammatory, derogatory, and historically inaccurate.

Appendix D

Comments from Community Forums (Fall 2002)

(These figures are based on written comments from the second round of meetings and do not include letters, telephone calls and email messages received by members of the team.)

Alternative A
• 17 positive (25.3%)
• 5 negative (7.5%)
• 4 neutral (neither positive nor negative) (6%)

Alternative B
• 2 positive (3%)
• 3 negative (4.4%)
• 6 neutral (9%)

Alternative C
• 8 positive (12%)
• 3 negative (4.4%)
• 10 neutral (15.4%)
Combination A + B
• 4 positive (6%)
Combination A+ C
• 1 positive (1.5%)
Combination A+B+C
• 4 positive (6%)
TOTAL = 101.5% (Discrepancy due to rounding off figures)
(Note that respondents were not given the option of combination comments, but did so of their own accord. Combination comments (e. g., A+B) may have been higher had that option been made available.)

St. Simons Island, GA

Alternative A
1. I believe that one positive aspect of this proposal is that existing lands would be used.
2. Having the 3rd site in McIntosh County would be in tying in important Gullah Heritage sites in this area. (The Moran family, Sapelo Island, Plantations (Butler Island and Hofwyl-Broadfield, Historic African-American Communities (Jewtown, Harrington), Historic Sites (slave cabins, remains of slave hospital, Neptune Park), and the traditions that have been preserved (net-making, basket weaving, and storytelling) that are currently at risk of being lost forever.
3. Would this alternative include grants to acquire and preserve local sites such as the Harrington School? The school is very important to the community.
4. Plan A could bring jobs for local Geechee people. It would work good with C and B.

Alternative B
1. I would be very concerned that sites which have not traditionally been inclusive would be willing to change their, i.e. rice plantations.
2. I would like to know how the Gullah/Geechee people feel about these proposals.

Alternative C

1. Most flexible able to include structures such as Harrington Schoolhouse
2. How will be insure that the "heritage area" will become self-sufficient? (I would hate for the program to get off the ground with start-up funding, and then not have money to ensure this program's longevity.

Charleston, SC

Alternative A

1. Affirmative effort to assist the preservation of heirs' property (financial and educational resources)
2. Emphasis on creating new beaurocracy makes this the least attractive alternative, but many specific elements of Alternative A are desirable. Personally, I prefer a mix of the 3 alternatives with emphasis on grassroots initiative of a heritage area.
3. Not only the forementioned crafts were performed but the multitude of skills it takes to build a nation as blacksmithing, building technology, medical and midwifery to name a few. Where are the institutions that taught the Gullah as such? Or did they come from Africa knowing how to build and maintain the culture since those are only a few elders left doing the crafts and so forth. These institutions need to be established in the Gullah Geechee connection. – Elder Halim, Gullah Geechee Nation
4. A needed complement to A & B, if either is selected would be to make sure info is available for students and non-students on the process to move into various employment positions, i.e. park manager, archeologist, naturalist, internships, scholarships, curator, conservation, etc.
5. "Living" interpretive centers would be important to expose/present Gully storytellers, craftspeople, musicians, etc. from within the grassroots community. The support of these "griots" as living historians would make the centers embody the very people who preserve the Gullah Culture in their own way – in this way, an institutional connection – complete with resources (e. g. human and fiscal) would serve as an economic development and cultural model for the region.

Alternative B

1. Is there a site further north of McClellanville that could be considered? Either in the Grand Strand or Little River or even Wilmington since it's still fuzzy to many that the G/G community begins in southern NC.
2. This alternative includes sites that are not traditionally associated with the Gullah Geechee story.
3. Geographically Gullah culture may be said to extend from Cape Hatteras, NC south to St Augustine, FL. Efforts should include Florida Gullah communities and sites. I favor a mix of the 3 alternatives presented, with emphasis on Alternative C and establishment of a National Heritage Area.
4. I like the idea of using established facilities: B, but also think renovations need to occur on such historical facilities as in A and perhaps having those "link up" to create a broader range with each having a special addition to the G/G Culture.
5. The aspect of storytelling should include the Gullah wars from 1739-1848 along the Black Border. – Elder Halim Gullah Bemi, Gullah Geechee nation
6. The first principle of community-building is to solve problems and create solutions for maximum impact. In the same way rice is "hard" to grow in the city of Charleston (environmental issues), so too is it difficult to reach large numbers of interested visitors/tourists/groups in rural areas. Cities are hubs – major concern/rethink. Should identify the 4th most visited city in the US with over 2 million visitors as a site. Compare these numbers to arriving visitors elsewhere (Rantowles, Awendaw, etc) Where do we "site" for greatest impact. Fish in a full pond.
7. B and A make a good choice.

Alternative C

1. A grassroots endeavor could lead to a viable and productive 501-C3. For those wanting minimal federal involvement, this could work.
2. Make sure local community get involved in helping promote and preserve the culture by using local artist and organization. Empowering the people through the Culture.
3. Requirements for state legislation may be onerous, particularly for a grassroots coalition.
4. What would be the process for a start-up foundation/organization to receive assistance from the NPS or the State?
5. Alternative C involves the group's responsibility to interpret its own existence. The preferred Alternative C can be melded with elements of Alternatives A and B.
6. A national Gullah/Geechee corridor is extremely important because that area was the economic foundation of the states that will make up the corridor. These states until after the Civil War had an agricultural economy. Open land cattle raising, rice and indigo were the basis of that agricultural economy. The knowledge and the people responsible for the success of that economy were enslaved Africans, and the seed rice that that introduced the rice culture was the seed from Africa, unlike the myths created by A S Salley, Jr and Duncan Haywood. It was not the alleged "seed from Madagascar." That knowledge was what made South Carolina the second wealthiest colony prior to the Revolutionary War.
7. How does the plan address the URBAN Gullah/Geechee experience? The planter/plantation model overlooks and makes it hard to include the experiences of Gullah/Geechee people who ere urban – sellers of vegetables and fish, cooks, housekeepers, nurses, craftsmen, blacksmiths, drivers, gardeners, stablemen, sial makers.
How do Robert Smalls and Mary (the Pringle cook at 27 King St) fit into this model?
How is this diversification, transition, and modification of Gullah Culture addressed?
How to cities – like the one this forum is in – help organize and preserve this legacy of culture?
8. Could A and C work together? A could help anchor C.

Georgetown, SC

Alternative A

Atlantic Beach (pop. 400, rural, low income) historic black-owned and operated resort town. First Missionary Baptist Church – Gullah music
Gullah speech patterns, food
Fishing economy in 1930's
Tourist Attractions during segregation
--Sherry A Suttles, President Atlantic Beach Historical Society 843.272.7444

Alternative B

No Comments

Alternative C

No Comments

Savannah, GA

Alternative A

1. This plan seems to meet the needs of all involved. – L R Morris
2. Seems to have the greatest public benefit. – John Jameson
3. Centers are well spaced and see to offer a diverse experience at sites. Please look (still) at local interpretive efforts in an attempt to complement stories, etc.
4. Consider adding exhibit of industry with living history or other interpretive styles. If people knew what it entailed (painful process of picking), they could develop a personal connection to the people, lifestyle, and hardships.
5. The idea of letting well-qualified individuals from the Gullah/Geechee community [get involved?] is a great idea. Involvement of the Gullah community will allow everyone to make an impact.
6. Gullah Geechee people are not in a position to determine the direction, definition, etc. of their culture under Alternative A. The NPS will have a larger role in dictating the preservation of our culture. We deal with academics who misrepresent our culture on a daily basis (see Dale Rosengarten "sea grass baskets" comments as one example of misrepresentation of the culture. --A Jamal Toure, Council of Elders, Gullah/Geechee Nation
7. I like the idea of multiple partners and parks interpreting the cultural [sic] in their area. Each group of people are particular to the area they live in. Will give a complete picture/focus of the entire Gullah/Geechee cultural [sic].
8. Cultural site preservation efforts (private and state) should be somehow considered into

Alternative B

1. Alternative B is the second best choice in this process. Alternative B allows some room for Gullah Geechee people to have a say in their story and culture. Alternative A is sorely lacking in this respect. This Alternative B provides us with a means to be the caretakers of the culture.
2. Alternative C is the best plan for the Gullah Geechee people to tell their story and preserve their culture. –A Jamal Toure, Council of Elders, Gullee/Geechee Nation

Alternative C

1. Alternative C is the best plan with regards to Gullah/Geechee people determining and defining their history and culture. We will play a significant role in the preservation of our culture. We will not be on the outside. – A Jamal Toure, Council of Elders, Gullah/Geechee Nation
2. Consider First African Baptist as a potential partner for Alternative C
3. If "African Americans" is on paper, then in person at site should be a person who as lived it and can speak Ogeechee.
4. Alternative C seems more in line with a culturally-specific community such as the Gullah-Geechee Nation

St. Helena Island, SC

Alternative A

1. Georgetown County is an important part of the Gullah/Geechee Culture, yet it has not been considered in any of those alternatives. Don't, I repeat, don't forget Georgetown County and its Gullsh/Geechee Community and people. There are partners available. Hobcaw Barony has an enslaved African Village and a rice field.
2. This is a living culture, spread over three states. To put centers in certain areas does not assist Gullah People in preserving and benefiting from their own culture. We are not museum pieces.
3. This alternative seems fine, however, my concern lies with the ownership of cultural assets – be it the interpretation of the history itself or the physical assets such as buildings, etc.

4. I believe this Alternative A is good because of its potential to utilize local experts who will tell and demonstrate the "true story." The fear I have is that NPS will flex its muscle and try to control and direct the entire program.
5. This plan A supports the concept of clusters among Gullah communities which makes the effort of preservation more manageable.
6. Plan A is the best of all alternatives. It allows total involvement of existing organizations and will allow operation for at least 100 years and allow the artifacts to come back to Penn for research and the education of the young generations.
7. Penn Center is a great resource and needs National Park Service Funding.
8. Put Atlantic Beach on the map, please!
9. Alternative A appears to offer a future for sxpression of our culture and creativity through perpetuity, putting this special study on par with Mt Rushmore and Grand Canyon.
10. Alternative A of all the potentials appears to be the best of all presented. It is all inclusive of the areas; it will not require land purchase, it allows operation of the facility in perpetuity in all the locations. It allows involvement of the community, the existing organizations, and the National Park Service.
11. I think all 3 are good.

Alternative B

1. This alternative does not enhance the culture, but gives the incentive to others to tell a story of people they have not recognized before.
2. This would give to those who have ignored the culture the ability to control a culture that they have tried to destroy. The best way to preserve and enhance our culture is to leave it to Gullah's to interpret and preserve.
3. The parks [in Alternative B] may not reach as many people as the cultural sites [Alternative A], and the sites in Alternative C.
4. Atlantic Beach needs to be on the map.
5. Need grants on the local level for 501 C-3's community-based organizations

Alternative C

1. Gullah Festival of SC, Inc should be in the list of potential partners, PO Box 83,
Beaufort, SC 20901
2. Sandy Island and Little River
3. Don't include Chambers of Commerce
4. Include Atlantic Beach – only remaining black-owned and erected incorporated town. Beach resort created in 1930's to house maids from Myrtle Beach. Later medical professionals and entrepreneurs bought in. Since integration and 2 hurricanes (Hazel '54 and Hugo '89), town is deteriorating rapidly. Musical giants like Ray Charles, Marvin Gaye, Chubby Checker stayed/played here. Tourists from AV to FL came. Now draws 400,000 from as far away as NYC for Memorial Day Weekend Bike Fest, BUT they stay in Myrtle Beach, North Myrtle Beach, etc. while our town is dying. We need your help drawing attention, funding Visitor Center, oral history, motel preservation, acquisition, etc. – Mary A Suttle, Pres. Atlantic Beach Historical Society
5. I am not particularly interested in the Park Service creating interpretive centers where the Gullah Culture is involved, however, if it must happen, I would prefer Alternative C.
Gullah is a living, breathing culture, not made for museums. We as a people need assistance holding on to our land. The land is tied to the culture. If we lose our land, welose our culture. Give people the chance to preserve their own culture. –E A Santagati
6. There was a comment that the proposed heritage corridor was too large or unwieldy. Thatwill not be the case if local people in each micro-area of the proposed corridor are madean integral part of the future planning. If that is done, there will be cohesion among the various groups, which will ensure the success of the corridor.

7. Plan C – Best option to chain together existing cultural places without artificial form of Plan A. Each place gets to define own special aspects. Can be developed to support those special things of each community without changing the character of the site.
8. Need grants for local community projects.

Jacksonville, FL

There were no written comments from this meeting. Only 2 people other than the project team attended this meeting.

Letters and Email Messages

The team received supportive letters from a number of potential partners throughout the study area (i.e. state and county governments, non-profit organizations, federal agencies, preservation organizations). There was also a lengthy document from Marquetta L. Goodwine, founder of theGullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition (GGSIC). Goodwine expressed opposition to all alternatives, but found Alternative C to be least objectionable. She also indicated that she wished to speak at any congressional hearings that may be held with regard to the alternatives. About 12 members of the GGSIC sent form letter responses indicating their agreement with Goodwine's comments and her right to speak.

Appendix E

OVERVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

Melissa D. Hargrove

Preface

Anyone who has recently visited the Sea Islands will realize there is not a minute to spare. There are strip malls where basket stands have stood for half a century or more, which once nourished and sustained the community of Mt. Pleasant. Hilton Head Island is unrecognizable as the agricultural homeland of Gullah people for centuries prior to its devastation. Johns Island has become the red carpet rolled across for tourists on their trek to the gated communities of Kiawah and Seabrook. Gullah residents of Daufuskie Island can hardly even be counted as a community, since their displacement to the periphery of their island home to make way for golf courses and tourism. St. Helena Island, which has held on for dear life under the constant threat of encroachment, is constantly battling construction permits and development schemes that threaten to strip them of their homes, their heritage, and their cultural legacy. With every hotel that is built and every road that is widened we lose a piece of the history and heritage of the Gullah people. As scholars, activists, government agencies, and inhabitants, we must begin to take steps toward the preservation of this cultural legacy before it is too late.

Chapter 1
Introduction to the Sea Islands: History, People, and Current Predicaments

The Sea Islands are a site of intrigue and wonderment. The landscapes are picturesque, with moss covered live oaks draping the ground in every direction, and seascapes nothing less than breathtaking. But what is truly amazing is the story of the people who were brought to these Islands in chains, first from the West Indies and later from Africa. These enslaved souls, and those who have descended from them, are referred to as the Gullah and Geechee of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands. Their history reads like a tragedy, while their strength and courage inspire all who have been fortunate enough to interact with them.

The Gullah and Geechee have been objects of academic study for more than a century. Scholars from a variety of academic disciplines have studied every aspect of Gullah culture at different times and using different techniques, but there are overarching themes to the body of literature. Language, religion, verbal arts and folklore, land, health and medicine, arts and crafts, leadership patterns, Gullah worldview and cultural values, and development and change will be utilized as topical categories. Operating from such a framework, it is my sincerest goal to illustrate the significant themes of Gullah scholarship historically and contemporarily.

Much of the historical literature will only be used within this overview when necessary for placing complementary research within a broader contextual framework. Historic documentation is necessary, however, more relevant to the issue at hand is research that has required extensive fieldwork within the various Sea Island communities and interaction with those who live and breath this culture.

Introduction

The Sea Islands are a string of islands that, geographically, extend from Georgetown, South Carolina to Cumberland Island, Georgia. The adjoining mainland for thirty miles inland is also recognized as part of the Gullah/ Geechee area. The broader discourse of Gullah studies often cites Florida as included within the culture areas; however, there is no significant scholarly data that represent Gullah people occupying Florida Sea Islands.[1] This gap should be considered within any future studies aimed at a comprehensive approach to Sea Island research. As a cultural area, the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia have served as home to the Gullah and Geechee. Geechee is recognized as the term used to refer to Georgia Gullah populations, but the blanket term Gullah can be used to designate all communities descended from Africans who have historically inhabited these Sea Islands.

The South Carolina Sea Islands include the following: Bulls Island, Sullivans Island, Yonges Island, James Island, Johns Island, Kiawah Island, Seabrook Island, Wadmalaw Island, Edisto Island, Ladies Island, St. Helena Island, Hunting Island, Fripp Island, Parris Island, Hilton Head Island, and Daufuskie Island. The Georgia Sea Islands, also known as the Golden Isles, consist of: Tybee Island, Skidaway Island, Ossabaw Island, St. Catherines Island, Sapelo Island, St. Simons Island, Jekyll Island, and Cumberland Island. It should be noted that among all those listed here, Wadmalaw Island[2] and St. Helena Island of South Carolina, as well as Sapelo Island of Georgia, can still declare the existence of a recognizable, cohesive, and viable Gullah/ Geechee community (Hargrove 2000).

These islands can be classified as low-lying; this area is often referred to as the "Lowcountry," separated from the mainland by small inlets, tidal creeks, and grass-covered marshlands. The islands possess a warm marine environment rich with various types of tropical and subtropical vegetation (Salter 1968). Beneficial to these islands is their extremely long growing season: from 250 to 300 days a year (Salter 1968). The sandy-loam soil of the Sea Islands is well suited to many types of agricultural production, which made them ideal for the plantation economies of rice, indigo and cotton, all of which fed the need for enslaved labor. West Africans seemed the best choice for such a labor force, due to their superior knowledge of rice

and indigo cultivation (Schwalm 1997). Those captive Africans, which we now know as the Gullah, forged a common culture out of their shared misery and will to survive and surmount obstacles.

It is indeed the entire chain of Sea Islands that became home to hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans, but the islands of South Carolina are believed to have retained the most sizeable population directly descended from enslaved Africans (Creel 1988). Many scholars maintain that the Sea Islands of South Carolina are the most authentic source of African culture history in North America, due to the overwhelming existence of "Africanisms" (Turner 1949; Guthrie 1996; Pollitzer 1999). Extensive study of the existing literature suggests more research has been conducted in South Carolina Sea Island communities than in Georgia Sea Island communities.

Among the earliest English settlers to the Sea Islands were several families from Barbados, already familiar with the system of plantation slavery and the utilization of African labor (Johnson 1930; Schwalm 1997). These first West Indian planters brought close to a thousand laborers with them (Creel 1988). Early settlers who came from England in search of an area to settle landed at St. Helena, but moved on to Charles Town upon hearing of the better soil conditions there (Johnson 1930). Charles Town became the major docking point for incoming African captives who were sold in the slave market, which now serves as a tourist attraction in present-day Charleston, South Carolina. It was not until 1700 that the first birth of a EuroAmerican child was reported (Johnson 1930). This event has come to signify the beginning of the colonization of the Sea Islands.

Within the literature there are ongoing controversies concerning the origins of enslaved Africans who we now recognize as Gullah and Geechee. The most comprehensive study, to date, appears in the recently published work of William S. Pollitzer, The Gullah People and Their African Heritage (1999). As a scholar who has devoted a lifetime of study to Gullah research, Pollitzer reviewed a wealth of data concerning the documented origins of South Carolina's African population. The results can be broken down as follows: 39 percent came from Angola (which includes the Congo), 20 percent from Senegambia, 17 percent from the Windward Coast, 6 percent from Sierra Leone, and 13 percent from the Gold Coast (Pollitzer 1999). However, 23,033 (20 percent of the total number of slaves legally imported into South Carolina) were omitted from these calculations because their specific regional origins were not recorded.

These Africans formed communities out of their shared enslavement. What developed is a syncretic, creolized culture which was constructed out of a remodeling of various cultural traits brought across the sea from many different parts of West Africa (Mintz and Price 1992), with subsequent influences from European and indigenous sources. This process happened throughout the African Diaspora in locations where slavery became the principle economic strategy for colonial expansion (Mintz and Price 1992). Therefore, there are evident and well established linguistic,[3] cultural, and religious connections between the Caribbean and the Gullah and Geechee people of North America.

Establishing the connection between the Caribbean and Gullah/ Geechee culture area is an important endeavor, which will "highlight its differences from the rest of the American South" (Montgomery 1994a, 8) as well as expound on "the diversity of Lowcountry culture" (ibid, 14). One of the significant aspects of the Gullah/Geechee-Caribbean connections is the demography of the first Carolina colonies. The first enslaved Africans to work the soil of South Carolina were transplanted there from Barbados and Jamaica (Cassidy 1994). Cassidy, speaking from a linguistic standpoint, suggests that the striking similarities among the Creole languages of the Caribbean and the Sea Islands cannot be accidental (1994, see also Hopkins 1992). Culturally, the Caribbean and the Sea Islands share a number of connections. For example, Beckwith (1924) uncovered the links between them through trickster tales, best illustrated by the presence of Anansi stories in the Caribbean and South Carolina (which ultimately connects both areas, culturally, to West Africa). The folklore collection of Parsons (1923) also reveals similarities between the Caribbean (particularly the Bahamas) and the Gullah area.

Religious connections between the Caribbean area and the Gullah/Geechee area are most easily understood in terms of syncretism. Syncretism, defined as the blending of differing systems of belief, is appropriate in terms of establishing a connection between religious belief and practice in these particular Diasporas. Gullah spiritual beliefs represent the syncretism of Christianity and African religion (Butler 1975; Creel 1988; Hart 1993; Pollitzer 1999). Gullah religion will be further discussed in subsequent chapters, however, it is important to reveal its similarities to syncretic religions of the Caribbean area, such as Voodoo of Haiti (also spelled Vodou and Vodun) and Santeria of Cuba (Jones-Jackson 1994).[4] Voodoo represents a blending of the African beliefs systems, brought to Haiti by enslaved Africans, and the Roman Catholic beliefs of their captors. Santeria was created in Cuba by the earliest Yoruba slaves as it was blended with the Catholic belief system of the Spanish. African religions were amenable to this process of syncretism in several ways. The idea of one God (or higher power) was comparable to African belief systems (Jones-Jackson 1994). Also, the worship of saints in Catholicism had distinct parallels with Orisha worship in Yoruba culture. Spirit possession, documented within Gullah culture ("falling out" Twining 1977), Voodoo, and Santeria is yet another connection between the Gullah and Caribbean syncretic belief systems.

An entire volume could be written on the cultural connections between the Caribbean and the Gullah/ Geechee area; however, the scholarly literature documenting such connections lacks synthesis, and should be of consideration in the future. What can be definitely established is the shared experiences of enslaved Africans (Mintz and Price 1992) both in the Caribbean and the Sea Islands. These groups shaped a creolized culture out of traits from Africa, interactions with Europeans, Indigenous peoples, and residents of the established slave populations they joined in the New World. Cultural connections, religious connections, and linguistic connections between the Caribbean and the Gullah/ Geechee community establish the need for increased research in the area referred to as "Africanisms."

Africanisms[5]

Africanisms can be best understood as cultural elements (including linguistic elements) that signify an African origin. There are many such "Africanisms" within the various elements of Gullah culture, including songs, folklore, games, language, musical instruments, basketry, crafts, woodworking, initiation ceremonies, and herbal plant usage for healing purposes. Those who came from the Guinea Coast are credited with contributions in the areas of grammar, magic, secret societies, possession and trance, quilting, ceramics, and skilled metallurgy (Pollitzer 1999). The Central African captives brought many Bantu words and names, as well as values of kinship and their deep religious beliefs concerning death and the afterlife (Creel 1990; Pollitzer 1999). As Pollitzer illustrates through many years of study, "no one sea island can be connected to a specific region in Africa" (1999, 198). What can be alleged with relative certainty, however, is that Gullah culture is an amalgamation of many different cultural elements from West and Central Africa.

Etymology[6] of "Gullah" and "Geechee"

There are two dominant hypothetical accounts on the etymology of the word "Gullah." The exact origins, however, as well as the precise historical development of the language, remain unknown (Wood 1975). Most often mentioned within the literature is the belief that it is a shortened version of "Angola," derived from the heavy importation of slaves from that region during South Carolina's early colonial period (Jones-Jackson 1987; Creel 1988; Pollitzer 1999). Another possibility is a derivation of "Gola," sometimes spelled Goulah, which refers to a large group of Africans from Liberia who were heavily imported into the Sea Islands at the height of rice and indigo cultivation (Wood 1975; Creel 1988). Less scholarly work has been conducted on the origin of "Geechee," however a number of scholars suggest the term is derived from the Ogeechee River area of Georgia (Sengova 1994).

Transitions: From Slavery to Freedom

It was November of 1861 when the guns of "big shoot" rang out through Port Royal Sound. "Big Shoot," the term used by Sea Islanders to designate the Civil War, brought change and, subsequently, freedom to the Sea Islands. As Union armies invaded the areas inland of the island plantations, the white owners fled

leaving everything just as it was in the hopes of soon returning. Those who had a chance informed the overseers of the situation, assuring them they would return; those without time left their slaves behind with no warning of what was to come. Upon contact with the slave populations, Union troops discovered they had not been informed of the War. The military enlisted the help of the federal government to take responsibility for these "contraband of war" (as they were at that time designated) who were running out of food and options (Rose 1964; Dabbs 1983;[7] Pollitzer 1999).

Many members of President Lincoln's cabinet became nervous about the situation in the Sea Islands. This was to be one of the largest cotton crops ever, and it had to be taken in. To accomplish the harvest, the US government had to formulate a plan for the supervision of the enslaved work force. Appropriate to the era, the intellectual elite of the North came to their aid. The project was a collaborative effort between philanthropists from New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, who came to be known as the "Port Royal Relief Committee." With funding from the U.S. Treasury, the committee assembled a group of missionaries and sailed them off to the rescue of the desperate, abandoned islanders (Rose 1964).[8]

The volunteers enlisted to help with the federally sponsored Port Royal Experiment, as it has come to be known, were put in charge of one plantation each. They were presented with several duties: management of the slaves as they harvested the crops, distribution of relief supplies, teaching, preaching, and preparing them for citizenship (Dabbs 1983). The objective of the Port Royal Experiment was to uplift -- in every possible sense -- those released from slavery by the war (Dabbs 1983).

In 1862, President Lincoln gave the order that abandoned lands in and around St. Helena be set-aside for the freed population (30 miles inland from the sea). On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln's official Emancipation Proclamation was read aloud to the former slaves of St. Helena Island. Soon after came the actual land sales to the freedmen.[9] Much of the land was sold to missionaries or speculators, but some tracts were sold to the slaves who had worked that particular plantation. The land was partitioned off into plots ranging from ten to twenty acres and sold for $1.25 an acre. Owning land was one of the greatest status symbols ever gained for the freedmen, and many who purchased it demanded that it be on the same land as their home plantation. Most often they even chose to keep the original name (Rose 1964). Other advantageous orders followed the land sales. Special Field Order 15 was issued by Union Army General William Tecumseh Sherman on January 15, 1865:

> At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville, the blacks may remain in their chosen or accustomed vocations, but on the islands and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers, detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress. (adapted from Goodwine 1998b:165).

Further Change: From Self-Sufficiency to Resort Development

Between 1864 and the early 1950s Sea Islanders lived in relative isolation as self-sufficient farmers, while also utilizing nearby waterways to supplement their diet. In the 1950s, however, their isolation ended as connector bridges began being built to the various Sea Islands. This was the first step in the demise of Sea Island communities and the situation worsens with each coming year. One need look no further than Hilton Head Island, which only 50 years ago was home to an African-American farming community. Land is constantly taken out of production and converted to resort development for the industry of tourism. Present day Hilton Head is populated by affluent Euro-Americans, residing in communities named after successful plantations of the slavery era. What were once self-sufficient Gullah communities are now the sites of golf courses, resorts, gated retirement communities, and vacation rentals. The development of these communities has transformed the residents into an "endangered species."[10] Their lifeways and cultural traditions are disappearing at an alarming rate. Jobs are scarce and often limited to low wage jobs associated with the tourism industry, and the future projections of increased tourism and development offer

no relief.

It is within this tumultuous context that the need arises for a synthetic overview of the existing literature concerning this living, breathing culture. In the coming years, involvement from policy makers, governmental bodies, and community organizations and activists will be crucial to either the destruction or preservation of this irreplaceable link to the African American past.

Chapter 2
Gullah Language

"The spoken word is the life and heart of Gullah culture" (Twining 1977, 80).

The dialect used by Sea Islanders of South Carolina and Georgia, often referred to as Sea Island Creole, was established as a legitimate language system by Lorenzo Dow Turner.[11] Turner was an African American scholar who conducted fifteen years of research among Sea Island residents with the objective of recording their language, folklore, and songs. The ultimate goal for Turner was to uncover the links between Gullah speech and the African languages they most closely resemble in the methods used to form words. In doing so he would also discredit much of the earlier work on Gullah language, such as A.E. Gonzales (1922), J. Bennett (1908), R. Smith (1926), and Guy B. Johnson (1930), who represented misinterpretations of Gullah speech in ways that are denigrating and racist. He established this in his publication Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (1949). The invaluable data contained within this study continue to be used as the primary reference guide for the linguistic study of Gullah language, and the exploration of the phonetic, syntactic, and morphological elements of Gullah that represent a definitive link to African language systems. It is important to note that Gullah language is distinct, and should not, therefore, be assigned to a general category of Black dialect (Jones- Jackson 1983).[12]

Turner's contributions to the study of Gullah language are immeasurable. His research consisted of field research in both Africa and the Sea Islands, resulting in twenty-seven informants from various parts of Africa and more than fifty from various Gullah communities in South Carolina and Georgia. Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (1949) includes a phonetic alphabet, West African words found within Gullah speech from a variety of African language groups,[13] syntactic features, morphological features, and Gullah texts transcribed in phonetic notation. All features within this collection illustrate the undeniable contributions of African languages to that which we refer to as Gullah.

The linguistic study of Gullah represents the largest component within both published and unpublished material concerning Gullah culture. The areas of investigation can be delineated into four distinct categories: linguistic origins and composition as a Creole language system, distinctive linguistic features of Gullah speech, dynamics of language usage and decreolization, and the role of language within Gullah culture. A complete understanding of the linguistic study of Gullah requires an advanced understanding of linguistic terminology. In light of the fact that many do not possess such knowledge, I have included, as endnotes, definitions of relevant terminology when necessary.

Linguistic Origins and Composition as a Creole Language System

The linguistic roots of the Gullah language system have been debated for over half a century. Lorenzo Dow Turner's work suggests Gullah language resulted from a merging of English and West African languages of Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, and Twi (among others). Ian Hancock asserts a strong linguistic relationship between the Krio language of Sierra Leone and Gullah (1994), as well as highlighting the similarities between the Guinea Coast Creole English system and linguistic features of Gullah speech. One example is the grammatical morphemes[14] such as bin, de, go, and don. Cassidy (1994) suggests that Gullah language is rooted in the Caribbean, while Mufwene asserts a "continuity" model based on suggested connections between Gullah language and the Kwa, Kru, and Mende languages of West Africa (1994). Mende speakers were among the dominant group taken from Sierra Leone, due to their extensive knowledge of rice cultivation (Sengova 1994).[15] The Mende language appears to be the largest contributor of words and expressions to Gullah language (Hair 1965; Hancock 1971). Within all the debates on the origins of Gullah

language is the assumption that the similarities between West African language systems and Gullah represent a solid connection; thereby establishing the African substratum. Unfortunately, however, at this juncture there is no definitive data that are accepted by all scholars concerning the origins of Gullah language.

African Substratum of English

Words that found their way into the Gullah language from Africa are numerous, and often recognized in English also. In an attempt to assess the possible linguistic, and therefore cultural, borrowing that may have occurred between Gullah and Whites, Wade-Lewis (1988) suggests the English language may also contain evidence of an African substratum.

Ex: Animal names: zebra, gorilla
Plant names and food items: goober, okra, yam, banana
Musical terms: samba, mambo, banjo, bongo
Religious terms: booger, mojo, voodoo, zombie
Action verbs: boogie, dig, juke, tote

In her analysis of the phonological, syntactical, morphological and semantic aspects of Niger-Kordofanian languages[16] in the New World, Wade- Lewis concludes that the Gullah people maintained linguistic continuity, as well as influencing the English language (1988).[17]

Creole Status of the Gullah Language System

When speaker of different languages come into contact with one another they must establish a strategy of communication. This often results in a pidgin[18] language. Once the pidgin becomes the first language of a particular group, it becomes a Creole. What has been established without question is the status of Gullah as a legitimate Creole[19] language system. Cunningham (1970)[20] was among the first to establish Gullah as a legitimate Creole through analysis of the syntactic system.[21] She compared the lexical[22] and grammatical[23] features of Gullah with established Creoles, such as that of Jamaica and Sierra Leone Krio. Both Cunningham (1970) and Hancock (1971) have illustrated similarities between Gullah and the Krio of Sierra Leone, referred to as "the West African cousin of Gullah" by Sengova (1994, 2000).

Evidence of the Creole status of Gullah can be seen in the existence of African- derived words used by Gullah speakers that are unintelligible to inland Blacks (Jones-Jackson 1983) (e.g. dayclean "dawn", det rain "downpour", pinto "coffin" as documented by Montgomery 1994b) as well as the existence of West African language patterns using a single pronoun to refer to all genders, [referred to within the literature as a "genderless pronominal system of pronoun use"] (Jones- Jackson 1978). Other unique facets of Gullah language include: the absence of past tense use of –ed morphemes [e.g. The weather look bad.], absence of the pronoun "it" and substitution of "we" for "us" [e.g. He come this close to we.], and the absence of possessive pronouns [e.g. She can cook she own.] (Jones-Jackson 1983).

Gullah and the Creole Continuum

The most prominent debate within studies of Gullah language is the status of Gullah, with reference to the Creole continuum. The concept was introduced in the 1970s and is best understood as "a continuous range of variation, found in particular in many Creole-speaking communities, between the basilect (the speech variety with the most Creole features), and the acrolect (the speech variety with the least Creole features, thus most similar to Standard language). Speech varieties that have an equal mixture of both are referred to as mesolect, thus being between the acrolect and the basilect.[24] As a Creole language moves along the continuum between basilect and acrolect, it is presumed that the Creole is undergoing a process of "decreolization" (a process of assimilation from Creole to standard language). The damage done by such an ideology will become clear upon closer investigation of specific research.

Satina Anziano (1998) conducted an investigation to test the hypothesis of Gullah decreolization using data from the South Carolina Federal Writers Project. The subject, "Lilly Knox" was interviewed between 1936 and 1938 and is taken to represent a mesolect Gullah speaker. The speech of Lilly Knox, 36-year-old Gullah woman, is compared to more recent linguistic data collected from current Gullah speakers, Creole, and AAVE (African American Vernacular English) data, presenting copula[25] usage as the point of comparison. The data selected for study consisted of each instance of the forms of be: am, is, are, was, were, been. Statistical analysis was performed using the SAS (statistical analysis system) program. Comparisons with AAVE indicate a comparable trend toward decreasing copula usage in the present tense more than in the past, and the disfavoring of plural copula. The absence of copula usage within the transcripts of Lillie Knox suggests that it is earlier on the continuum of mesolect designation (lower mesolect speaker). Based on the results of the study, Anziano makes an argument for the value of material from the FWP for further linguistic analysis. Anziano further concludes that such results indicate Gullah is now entering the process of decreolization in much the same manner AAVE did at an earlier period in history.

In direct opposition, Tometro Hopkins (1992)[26] suggests that Gullah language is not following a developmental sequence of decreolization. This study focuses on the use of auxiliary verbs da and bin. Hopkins discusses the development of Gullah language within the context of competing past and present theoretical paradigms concerning the origins, dynamics, and future of Gullah language. Upon comparing Gullah with alternative Creole verbal systems, such as Guyanese Creole English, Hopkins suggests Gullah language is changing, but not in the direction of being replaced by Standard English. Through the conversations used to conduct linguistic analysis Hopkins conveys much about Gullah culture in the realm of social structure, religion, family, and changes brought by development. Much of the same argument appears in a more recent publication based on the same fieldwork data (Hopkins 1994).

In 1990 an alternative hypothesis was proposed. Katherine W. Millie, suggesting that the Creole Continuum (CC) positions Gullah language as moving toward English, proposes that the CC may be too simple and linear to adequately represent what is going on within the Gullah language. Furthermore, she suggests that the two languages are involved in a stable relationship which allows for some overlap between the two; highly dependent on social context. The overall project is to isolate, describe, and quantify those syntactic or morphological features that mark tense mood aspect (TMA) in the verb phrases of Gullah represented by Ambrose Gonzales[27] (even though his work is controversial and labeled racist and demeaning), and compare them with features serving the same function in recent samples of Gullah speech gathered by Jones-Jackson (1978) and Mufwene (n.d.). Tense, mood, and aspect in Gullah are generally distinctive and thus are easy to identify, study, and compare, which is why they are chosen as objects of study within this research.

In terms of the debate over the decreolization of Gullah, Mille breaks new ground. The results suggest no directional change in Gullah over time, no indication that Gullah is converging with English during the time line specified for this study (last 130 years), and therefore no real evidence that Gullah is undergoing decreolization. Mille suggests the results establish Gullah as a stable Creole language system (1990).

Mille is not alone in her belief that Gullah language is alive and well. Salikoko S. Mufwene, a scholar who writes extensively on Creole language systems, disputes the theory that Gullah language is dying out, further suggesting that Gullah has been under no more pressure to change than any other nonstandard variety of English in North America. He cites group identity, geographical and social isolation, and the ability to code switch[28] successfully, as important factors that have aided in the preservation of Gullah language. In response to the idea that stigmatization will erode Gullah, Mufwene suggests that is only the case if the community's sense of identity has been eroded (Mufwene 1997).

The real threat to Gullah language survival, Mufwene asserts, is the overall reduction of speakers due to development and land loss. As newcomers enter the coastal communities of Georgia and South Carolina the limited economic opportunities within the tourism industry drive the youth to larger cities. It is in such

places that the real pressure of assimilation threatens to alter Gullah language. This is in direct contrast to the notion that increased tourism will bring about increased interactions between Gullah speakers and Standard English speakers. To support his hypothesis, Mufwene reminds us that those who settle and vacation in these areas spend the majority of their time at the beaches, and not in contact with the local Gullah community. Therefore, this research suggests there is no evidence of an immediate threat of language loss or decreolization directly resulting from increased development and tourism within Sea Island communities. It is, however, the economic constraints of tourism and development that lead to overall loss of Gullah speakers in these areas.

Gullah Linguistics: Various Points of Interest

There are a variety of studies concerning Gullah language that do not intersect neatly with any mentioned thus far. Linda D. Mack (1984)[29] conducted a comparative analysis of linguistic stress patterns, which attempted to compare the phonological contrast system of Gullah with that of English; more specifically, on an acoustical/temporal analysis of the linguistic stress patterns of Gullah and English speakers. Linguistic stress refers to enhancing some elements of speech so that they become more prominent and noticeable. Subjects who participated in the linguistic study were divided into three categories: Gullah speakers, English speaking Black adults, and Code switchers. Speaking fundamental frequency (SFF) was used as the test variable. The study results indicate that English and Gullah differ most in the area of duration, with fundamental frequency also being a good indicator for linguistic stress patterns, with Gullah speakers exhibiting a lower speaking fundamental frequency than English speakers. Mack's work also includes (in Appendix) a Gullah Feature Index, General American English Index, and a Guide to Code Switching Proficiency (1984).

Language does not operate in a vacuum. It is influenced by many factors within a community of speakers. In 1976, Patricia C. Nichols conducted research within Georgetown, South Carolina, to assess the ways in which age, sex, and mobility affect linguistic change. The data consist of twelve recorded adult conversations and the subsequent analysis of grammatical features undergoing change, such as preposition and pronoun usage. Factors suggested as having an impact are job aspirations that require Standard English speaking ability, varying degrees of connection to island life, and age. This study proposes that Gullah language is undergoing change toward Standard English within the specified speech community, citing various factors of direct impact.

Language as Culture

Language and culture go hand in hand. There are countless cultural elements within Gullah culture that exhibit the importance of language to cultural preservation. Within religious ceremony, sometimes what is said is not as important as how it is said. In a sermon recorded in 1980 on Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina, Patricia Jones- Jackson illustrates the importance of linguistic features within the process of "evocation of the spirit" (115)[30] during a Gullah church service. Throughout the sermon, the minister sprinkles bits of Creole syntax with Standard English. This strategy reinforces to the congregation, both educated and uneducated, that he is indeed part of their shared speech community. The following excerpt illustrates the use of Creole within the sermon:

Going over the Sea of Temptation
Brother I don't know
But I begin to think
In this Christian life
Sometime you gone be toss*
By the wind of life.

All the power in he hand*
Got power for we*
When we get hungry
He's able to feed us (Jones- Jackson 1994).

* denotes examples of Creole syntax use.

Gullah Language and Education

Several studies have been conducted concerning the status of Gullah language and possible implications for the education of Gullah children.[31] Virginia D. Benmaman (1975) conducted research among fourth and fifth grade Gullah children on Johns and James Island, South Carolina, to assess their level of linguistic acculturation. Her findings indicated that children prefer materials written in Standard English to material written in their own language. Students responded to seeing the Gullah language in written form with discomfort and ridicule, with many referring to it as "bad language." Upon administering comprehension tests in both, research results produced no significant differences between scores for either Standard English or passages written in Gullah. Benmaman suggests that Gullah children (of the 1970s) had a conditioned preference for Standard English, due to a lack of respect shown by teachers and school staff regarding the legitimacy of the Gullah language system. She also suggests there has been a strong attempt to reject and eradicate Gullah speech throughout schools in Sea Island areas.

More recently there was a similar study conducted by Bernateen W. Cunningham (1989) Attitudes of School Personnel in Charleston, South Carolina Toward the Gullah Dialect. The research was aimed at assessing the attitudes of speech-language pathologists and teachers in the public school systems of Johns and James Island toward children whose language is Gullah. Questionnaires were administered[32] and the results were statistically interpreted. Overwhelmingly, the data suggest that school personnel respond negatively to children's use of Gullah language, prompting Cunningham to suggest there is a definite need for educational and cultural training of teachers working with Gullah-speaking children (1989), in an attempt to foster recognition of the unique linguistic features of this viable language.

Contemporary Gullah research corroborates the need for culturally sensitive teacher training. Within Melissa Hargrove's work (2000)[33] informants and field collaborators discussed the persistent stereotype and stigma attached to Gullah language. The elder generations, many of which were "educated straight out of their culture" (Hargrove 2000), were punished for speaking Gullah as children and young adults. It was made clear that the only way to get a decent job or be respected was to rid yourself of that "bastard English, broken English…bad talk" (Hargrove 2000, 102). Marquetta L. Goodwine, founder of the Gullah/ Geechee Sea Island Coalition, supports this idea:

> This condemnation and pity of Gullah-speaking Sea Islanders had an overwhelming and almost devastating impact. These people were taught that "ef oona tak likka disyah, den ting backwad" and if you wanted to "make something of yourself" the you needed to "correct" the way you spoke (meaning to take on Standard English)
> (Goodwine 1998d, 9).

Only presently are some communities and school systems coming together to encourage children to learn to "code switch" gracefully between Gullah and English, but it will be many years before the results of such shifts become evident and widespread.

Conclusion

One of the premiere linguistic specialists on Gullah language was Patricia Jones Jackson,[34] author of When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands (1987). After extensive years of research on Wadmalaw Island and within various Sea Island communities, she made a profound prediction: the

language will remain intact as long as the communities remain intact. In making suggestions, nearly all scholars studying Gullah language realize the need for speakers of Gullah to be educated on the origins of their language. This would go a long way toward encouraging Sea Islanders to take pride in their African heritage. Educators in these areas must be made aware of this important task. It is estimated that the Gullah language is spoken by less than half a million descendants of Africans living in coastal South Carolina and Georgia (Mufwene 1997). Language preservation should be a top priority for all scholars involved with Gullah and Geechee communities, as well as for the growing number of activists leading grassroots movements within them.

Chapter 3
Religion and Ceremony

Religion and religious ceremony have been among the primary research interests within Gullah/ Geechee studies, and with good reason. Religion has played a central role in community life, organization, leadership, and survival within the various Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia and continues to be the most powerful force in Gullah communities (Jones-Jackson 1994). Gullah religious belief and practice can be compared to the broader belief systems of African Americans as they pertain to the doctrine of Christianity and worship of God, however, a fair portion of Gullah religiosity remains grounded in African cosmology and worldview. There are many components to this body of research: spiritual beliefs and practices, music and song associated with religion, African cultural retention within Sea Island religiosity, and the role of the church within the community. What is striking about the research concerning religious aspects of Gullah life is how little some aspects have changed over time.

Folk Religion

What might it have been like to witness the evolution of religious ideology within these early slave communities spread along the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia? Much of the research conducted gives us a sketch into the lives of these earliest Africans, and chronicles the ways in which Gullah and Geechee religion came to be what we find today. Afloyd Butler represents this curiosity in his unpublished dissertation, The Blacks Contribution of Elements of African Religion to Christianity in America: A Case Study of the Great Awakening in South Carolina (1975).[35] Butler suggests the African American Christianity we witness presently is a direct result of strong African elements being kept alive within an evolving religious system. Such elements were harbored within what is referred to as "the invisible institution" in which enslaved Africans conserved part of their religious heritage by syncretizing certain elements within a Christian framework (Butler 1975; Raboteau 1978). Such characteristics include shouting, dancing, spirit possession, and foot stomping, which can be witnessed in many of the present day church services of Sea Islands communities.

The most comprehensive and highly recognized study of religion in the Sea Islands was conducted by Margaret Washington Creel, resulting in A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community- Culture Among the Gullahs (1988). The historical time line of this investigation begins in West Africa with the possible antecedents of Sea Island religion. Creel investigates the various elements of Gullah spiritual life, including social cohesion, group identity, cultural resistance, and adaptability. Using missionary reports, diaries, church minutes, and recorded Gullah spirituals from the St. Helena Island community, Creel established a rough sketch of the origins of slave religion during their earliest years of bondage. Gullah religious beliefs represent a syncretic creation (often referred to as a folk religion) made from the blending of African spirituality and worldview with the Christian acculturation and indoctrination experienced in the New World (Creel 1988).

Church and Community

The importance of the church within Gullah and Geechee community life cannot be over emphasized. The church as community center began with the concept of the Praise House, of which there are several still standing within various Sea Island communities. Praise Houses were located on each plantation and served as a religious meetinghouse for that particular plantation's enslaved population. As time progressed, these small one-room dwellings became the locus of social planning and action, motivation, and community cohesion (Lawton 1939).[36] The Praise House became the official site for legal and social matters, as well as conflict resolution (Guthrie 1977), therefore becoming the judicial, religious, and social center of the community. Patricia Guthrie conducted research within the St. Helena Island community and concluded that Praise Houses were still being used, on occasion, for similar purposes. She suggests that children were only granted membership to particular community Praise Houses once they had completed the social process of "catching sense" (1977).[37] No other scholar has identified this particular concept.[38] It is accurate,

however, that the social system of St. Helena Island (as well as other Sea Island communities) is structured by membership in particular Churches and previous plantation boundaries (Guthrie 1996).

Religion as Music and Song

At the heart of Gullah religious beliefs and practices are the songs. The importance of song within these communities began before their arrival in the New World. Enslaved Africans brought with them an African tradition of "call and response" worship, song, and religious dance (Hart 1993), which accounts for the noticeable African rhythms of Sea Island spirituals (Thrower 1953).[39] As they were introduced to Christian hymns through their interactions with plantation owners and missionaries, the early Sea Island populations created the "Negro spiritual," best understood as an adaptation of traditional Christian hymns. Many of the beliefs of Christianity were incorporated into the Gullah spiritual worldview. [40] These songs became a form of self and group expression, as a way to communicate the oppressions and hardships of slavery, as well as a mental release (Thrower 1953). They also represented the spiritual devotion of slave communities to their new spiritual guide, in such songs as Gwine t'res from all my labuh and Somebody een yuh, it mus' be jedus.[41]

Religious songs are still an important component of Sea Island worship, but are commonly referred to as "Gullah spirituals." [42] These songs represent the Negro spiritual of the slavery era as it has adapted and evolved over time. Gullah spirituals are normally sung in unison and without music, accompanied by rhythmic foot stomping, clapping, and tambourine strikes (Hart 1993).[43] Gullah spirituals are unique in that the scales are much more pentatonic than EuroAmerican hymns. They also differ from traditional Negro spirituals in their lack of musical accompaniment. Even with the noticeable changes between the spirituals of enslaved peoples and present day Gullah and Geechee people, the spiritual and its performance represent cultural ties to African tradition and African tribal rituals (Hart 1993).

Extensive research has been devoted to the legacy of the Negro spiritual and its place in twenty first century Sea Island society. Thomas Hawley, Jr. conducted six years of research on Johns Island in the company of an elderly singing group, the "Senior Lites." Members of this group are carrying on an oral tradition that was passed to them from ancestors who were alive during the period of slavery or shortly after (Hawley 1993), but it is in danger of loss. Informants reveal that clapping and shouting are being replaced by drumming, organs are replacing a cappella singing, and meetinghouses are losing their distinct role as spiritual and community centers. What is preserved within this research is important information concerning who passed these spirituals on to those within this singing group, what role the spirituals play in their religious lives, and perceived threats to this religious tradition. Specific factors analyzed within this dissertation include: role of lead singer, type of spiritual, tempo, duration, type of hand clapping, tonal center, number of pitches used, embellishments, word content, name and age of singers, and religious affiliation. Transcribed interviews with all the singers are included in the Appendix, as well as the lyrics and musical scores to two recorded performances of the "Senior Lites."

No discussion of the importance of song within Gullah culture is complete without Guy and Candie Carawan's Ain't you got a right to the tree of life? The People of Johns Island, South Carolina- Their Faces, Their Words, and Their Songs, first published in 1966 (1989). This book is the product of a project initiated by the Highlander Institute, which includes songs and stories of relevance to the residents of Johns Island during the early 1960s. The collection was gathered over a four-year period in which the married Carawan team lived within the River Road Gullah community. The latest edition (1989) includes an introduction by Charles Joyner aimed at the abrupt changes in this area between the first publishing (1966) and 1989. Just as with other Sea Islands, development and tourism have certainly taken their toll on this Gullah community.

Ain't you got a right to the tree of life? contains the lyrics of many important Gullah songs, including We shall overcome, Shoo Turkey Shoo,[44] Jack and Mary and the Devil, Ask the Watchman How Long, Keep your eyes on the prize, and others. Within this book the songs and stories tell of an island that has endured many hardships. It also contributes to our knowledge of Gullah storytelling, Gullah religion, migration to

New York, race relations on the island, and the organization of the first citizenship education school by Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins (1966, 1989). The residents of Johns Island made notable contributions to the Civil Rights movement with their strategies for training teachers and organizing at the grassroots level. The words and songs within this collection record an important part of Gullah history straight from the mouths of those who lived it.[45]

Much of the research conducted concerning songs of Gullah culture has been an attempt at "salvage" collection. Among the earliest collections was Slave Songs of the United States collected and compiled by William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison. The compilation of 136 slave songs, collected on St. Helena Island (among other locations throughout the U.S.) was released in 1867, and reprinted in 1965. From the collection of songs we can reinforce our current assumptions about the unique linguistic patterns of Gullah speech. Allen et al. make note of the omission of auxiliary verbs, the lack of distinction of gender, case, number, tense, or voice, as well as the use of past tense verbs in the present auxiliary (1965). Among the songs collected are rowing songs, spiritual songs, songs associated with the "shout" and songs which represent the daily routines and hardships of Sea Islanders during the 1860s. This collection, when viewed for its historical significance, illustrates the strength and perseverance of song in the lives of the Gullah. Songs have given them hope and happiness, while preserving their rich heritage in word and melody.

Just as continuity is reflected in Gullah songs, we can also see the effects of time and change. George L. Starks[46] offers a glimpse into the world of music within the context of Gullah culture as he examines the role of music within community life. His research was conducted on James, Johns, Yonges, Edisto, St. Helena, and Daufuskie Island between 1972 and 1973. Starks suggests that the religious services he witnessed are not much different that those conducted in these same areas some 90 years ago (1973), with particular songs to accompany certain activities and particularly religious and holiday events. Stark's work is evidence of the integral role of dancing, hand clapping, and movement in the delivery of music and song both historically and within the recent history of Sea Island religious activity. Also, some baptisms are still conducted at the river. Stark's findings propose that Gullah songs, as well as music, represent both continuity and change, and the traditional importance of music lives on in the Sea Islands.

Traditions of Religious Practice: "Ring Shout" and "Call and Response"

There are two traditional practices associated with Sea Island religious services that inadvertently appear in any detailed study: the "ring shout" and "call and response." The ring shout has a long history within Gullah culture. This shuffling, circular dance is accompanied by chanting and hand clapping, and has been associated with the singing of Negro spirituals and Gullah spirituals since slavery (Allen et al. 1965). During Praise House meetings, each new verse of a spiritual was introduced by the song leader to which the chorus responded (call and response), just as it is done in present day churches. The Minister interacts with the audience in a way that illustrates the symbiotic relationship between minister and congregation. The transcript of a sermon from Wadmalaw Island, June 1980 illustrates the minister's calculated use of language in an attempt to elicit response and involvement from his congregation (Jones- Jackson 1994). By sprinkling Creole syntax throughout the sermon, the minister touches both the educated and uneducated parishioners, establishing that he is part of their speech community. This not only creates personal bonds between the two, but also preserves the long held tradition of "call and response" within religious practice of Sea Island communities.

Role of Church in Community Life

The importance of religion in the lives of Gullah and Geechee people allocates extensive power to the church within the activities of the community. Recent research conducted within the St. Helena Island community illustrates the past and present role of the church within community life (Watkins 1993).[47] Until quite recently the residents of St. Helena Island depended on their religious leaders to maintain social order through a system referred to as "just law." The system originated from the Praise House religious courts used to mediate and settle disputes in a process referred to as "Ward Deacon Process" (Watkins 1993). Minor infractions, such as domestic disturbances and theft, were handled through church law as recently as

the mid 1980s. For example, if a community member was accused of getting drunk and creating a disturbance he or she would appear before the church council, thus making him responsible to both his church community and the wider social community. When the church leaders felt he had received the necessary counseling from the Bible, he would be forgiven and allowed to rejoin the church community for services (prior to that decision the person was forced to sit on the back row of the church as a tactic of ostracism). Many residents of St. Helena Island suggested this type of system worked because islanders are very community oriented and very spiritual; the system incorporated two very important cultural aspects into a strategy for social control. Older members of the community suggest the old way was better than "white mans law" (referred to as unjust law), because it promoted social cohesion and minimized criminal activity while being linked to the important concepts of extended family and religion (Watkins 1993).

The maintenance of social control by church leaders has long been a practice of Sea Island communities (Johnson 1996). Research conducted in 1950 in Shrimp Creek Georgia (15 miles south of Savannah) provided similar findings. Deacons of Shrimp Creek were reportedly responsible for handling marital and social conflicts (Ottenberg 1991). Church leaders were chosen by the congregations to serve for life, thereby creating bonds that would last and creating alliances across social boundaries.

Seekin' the Lord: African American Conversion Ritual

The process referred to as "seekin' the lord" has been widely documented in countless studies of Gullah religious practice (Starks 1973; Creel 1988; Pollitzer 1999). This process in one in which a person undergoes a particular ritualistic process in order to be "ushered into the inner circle of the socioreligious worldview of their community" (A. Johnson 1996, 16). The period of time between a professed desire to become Christian and acceptance by the elders was called "seekin" because the seeker was looking for Jesus (Pollitzer 1999). The process became a rite of passage within the Praise Houses of Sea Island slave communities, symbolizing public affirmation of their acceptance of the Lord into their hearts and lives. During the seekin' process it is customary to fast, as well as to wait for a vision from God (A. Johnson 1996). The act of seekin' provided a moral compass by which members of a community were held mutually accountable to one another to live by the laws of God. The folk religious practice of seekin' was the physical manifestation of this spiritual quest. The seeker would go into the woods and wait for a vision, which he or she would then relate to an elder. Next the person would be accepted by the Praise House members and readied for baptism (Pollitzer 1999).

Conclusion

The abundance of research conducted within various Sea Islands concerning Gullah religion is beyond the scope of a mere chapter. What is recognizable from this brief overview is the importance of religion within the lives of the Sea Islanders, as well as the abundance of religious practices, beliefs, and rituals signifying continuity with an African past. As long as such connections exist, Gullah culture will signify the important role of religion and spirituality from slavery to the present, as well as the adaptive nature of those early African communities who blended African beliefs with Christianity into the syncretic religion being practiced today.

Chapter 4
Verbal Arts and Folklore

Traditional folklore, rooted as it is in the real hungers, needs, and struggles of man, is a means of preserving the community's memorable experiences; of protesting- humorously, bitterly, or militantly- the hard life imposed by nature or by the inhumanity of some men towards other men; of making educational comments about manners and morals, the trivial and the transcendental in man's groping for a life of meaning and dignity (Joyner 1971, 2).

For more than one hundred years, African American folklore has been an object of scholarly study. Folklore refers to the traditional beliefs, myths, tales, and practices of a people transmitted orally from generation to generation. Historically, folklore has been collected from missionaries, academics, ministers, and abolitionists, resulting in large collections from various African American populations throughout North America. Gullah folklore, best described as folk knowledge, offers insight into many historical aspects of Gullah life (e.g. tales as education, love, origin myths, tales as hidden messages, socialization, religion (Pollitzer 1999)). Current and future research aimed at folklore collection and documentation of tales still being told offer intriguing possibilities for the study of cultural continuity and change in the Sea Island area.

Slave Narratives of the Federal Writers' Project

> The majority of scholarly literature pertaining to folklore simply records the tales, songs, and language with no elaboration of the social context within which the folklore was collected. Hundreds of slave narratives were collected in the 1930s as part of the Federal Writers' Project[48] of the Works Progress Administration(WPA) http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.html.

The narratives document hundreds of interviews conducted in South Carolina and Georgia of particular relevance to any study of Gullah culture. Much of what was recorded among the Geechee of Georgia appears in the publication, Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes (1940). Drums and Shadows is an attempt "to present the customs and beliefs of what is left of a generation closely linked to its native African origin" (1940). Residents of various communities were interviewed by agents of the WPA, including Old Fort, Tin City, Yamacraw, Frogtown and Currytown, Springfield, Brownville, Tatemville, White Bluff, Pin Point, Sandfly, Grimball's Point, Wilmington Island, Sunbury, Harris Neck, Pine Barren near Eulonia, Possum Point, Darien, Sapelo Island, St. Simons Island, and St. Mary's. The collection of folklore and stories are transcribed in Gullah, as much as possible, in order to preserve the rich linguistic heritage. The topics of folklore within this collection include conjure, work, daily routines, religion, traditional arts and crafts, superstition, music, recipes, food ways, death and burial customs, songs, baptisms, graves, fishing, subsistence, architecture, agriculture, industrialization, memories of plantation life, and family stories passed down through the years. The original material is archived at the Library of Congress.

This type of collection represents the overall worldview of the Geechee people inhabiting these islands at a particular moment in time. The Appendix is essential reading, as it draws correlations between this and other research in ways that establish concrete connections between Sea Island culture and various cultures throughout the African Diaspora, as well as West African culture. Close to 150 informants were interviewed for the Drums and Shadows project. The collection also contains excellent photographs of many informants, as well as tools, musical instruments, carvings, and baskets (1940).

Folklore Experts: Charles Joyner and Mary Arnold Twining

Among the most prominent scholars who have conducted folklore studies in South Carolina and Georgia are Charles Joyner and Mary Twining. Joyner's dissertation Slave Folklife on the Waccamaw Neck: Antebellum Black Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry (1977) is concerned with Afro-American folklife on the rice plantations of Waccamaw Neck during the final decades of slavery. Joyner extends the usability of the term "folklife" to include all aspects of life among the African Americans of the slave community under study. Joyner's work is painstakingly compartmentalized into six chapters: historical overview of the Lowcountry and the Gullah people, work patterns during slavery, use of "off time," Gullah linguistics, animal and human trickster tales, and material culture.

Joyner gathered data from published and unpublished sources: family papers, plantation records, wills, estate inventories, vestry records of the church, minutes of the planters' agricultural society, memoirs, planters writings, writings from visitors, newspapers, and genealogies from the Waccamaw Neck planter class. He also made comparisons between the planter class data and the historical data concerning slavery in the Americas, in order to get a balanced look at life in the Lower Waccamaw Neck region of South Carolina. Folktales selected for study illustrate connections with the African heritage of Gullah people. Within his dissertation there is also a wealth of information concerning life during slavery, including data on food allowances, clothing, architecture, and African influenced crafts. The dissertation was later published as Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community (1984).

Mary Twining also conducted research concerning Sea Island folklore and folklife in the communities of Johns, James, Wadmalaw, Yonges, and Edisto Islands in South Carolina, as well as St. Simon Island, Georgia. Her dissertation, An Examination of African Retentions In the Folk Culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands (1977), sought to point out the distinctive African survivals in the Sea Islands region. Twining realized the value of folklore, suggesting, "folk stories demonstrate the values in the community" (117). Within the various Sea Island communities the values were numerous. She presented the Sea Islands as "a homogeneous, traditional community that provides a living laboratory for folklorists and other students of human cultural behavior" (1977, 3). The extensive folklore collection of Twining's work is broad in scope, including specific folktales, games and plays, songs, interviews, recorded stories, animal stories, biographical sketches of informants, religious services and prayers, and riddles collected from Johns, James, Wadmalaw, Yonges, and Edisto Islands in South Carolina and St. Simon Island in Georgia.

Twining recorded not only the written forms of folklore and folklife, but also included the expressive behavior of verbal arts, such as storytelling, oral religious lore, and singing songs, as well as the movement and dance associated with important folklife ceremonies. Twining discusses the role of folk craft within everyday life (e.g. baskets, quilts, nets, brooms) as well as the social implications of Gullah songs and stories: " hope for a better world, better treatment and better times pervade the songs and prayers" (Twining 1977, 85). A persistent theme of flying home (or escaping home) to Africa appears in songs and stories. Within the animal stories, Twining recognizes the rage, hostility, and frustration earlier generations of Gullah were faced with in their dealings with EuroAmericans. Folklore is not simply the tales of a backward people; it is a powerful representation of history as viewed through the holders of indigenous folk knowledge.

What is easily recognizable through Twining's representation of Gullah folklore and folklife are the connections to a West African heritage. African societal features appear in such activities as games and music, as well as community relationships and child rearing. While playing games and other activities, older children help care for the younger generation of children, much the way their African ancestors did. Members of Gullah communities cast nets the same way West Africans do, and many of the food preparation customs have been passed from generation to generation. Twining's dissertation contains numerous recorded songs, prayers, and games from various Sea Island communities; among them are Sally Waters (or Walker), Mary Mack, Boba-needle, Whoa, mule, can't get the saddle on, to mention a few.

Adding to our knowledge of the persistence of Africanisms in the Sea Islands, Twining, along with Keith E. Baird, co- edited Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia (1991). The volume contains articles concerning the many African cultural retentions present within Gullah culture. Within that volume Twining discusses the art and tradition of "basket names." The article "Names and Naming in the Sea Islands" was first presented as a paper at the Ninth Annual Symposium on Language and Culture in South Carolina at the University of South Carolina, April 1985. It also appears in a more recent edited volume, The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture (1994) edited by Michael Montgomery.[49]

Basket Names Within Sea Island Culture

It was Lorenzo D. Turner (1949) who first uncovered the African retention we refer to as basket names. The names of Sea Islanders gathered by Turner have been established as originating in countries from Senegal to Angola, while also indicating the early Gullah communities contained speakers of many different languages. Basket names are associated with people; however, it is also important to seek place names which offer evidence of African linguistic retentions. For example, Turner included names for coastal rivers and islands in South Carolina which are presently recognized as place names:

Okatee[50]	okati (Umbunda, Angola)	Middle, interior
Peedee[51]	mpidi (Kongo, Angola)	a species of viper
Wassaw[52]	wasaw (Twi, Gold Coast)	name of district, tribe, dialect

(Above adapted from Turner 1949, 307)

The aforementioned paper by Twining (Names and Naming In the Sea Islands) sought to investigate the persistence of this practice some forty years after Turner recorded the practice of basket names. The findings suggest that such practices still exist (names gathered form Johns Island) and the names are (1) related to specific characteristics of the bearer, or (2) related to some incident or situation in which the named individual was involved. The article contains many examples of names obtained during research within the Johns Island region.

The traditional use of basket names has important social functions within Gullah communities. For example, names form interrelationships between family and community, as well as within the larger network of kinship. Basket names also represent an inner core of cultural integrity, which has shown itself to be remarkably resistant to outside influences (Twining and Baird 1991). It is clear than many of the African cultural retentions have served a function over the decades of their existence, whether it be community cohesion, subtle resistance, or the transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next.

Folklore as Resistance: Trickster Tales

In a recent dissertation by Mella Davis, African Trickster Tales in Diaspora: Resistance in the Creole-Speaking South Carolina Sea Islands and Guadeloupe (1998), the continuation of African oral tradition within Sea Island communities is investigated. Davis examines the "trickster tale" and the hidden political discourse within it, criticizing earlier studies of African trickster tales for the apparent lack of depth concerning sociocultural meaning.[53] Davis illustrates how stories must be supported by community structure; "without a living, speaking, relating body of people, the stories cannot thrive" (16). Davis conducted a portion of her research as an official affiliate of the Penn Center on St. Helena Island, which allowed her greater access to the community's elderly. She was also able to interview several children who had been involved with a program sponsored by the Penn Center, which encouraged young children to record the folktales of their grandparents. Many still remembered them.

Fieldwork was conducted on various Sea Islands by interviewing professional and native storytellers and community leaders. Davis conducted field research on St. Helena, Wassaw, Daufuskie, and John's Island of South Carolina, as well as Sapelo Island, GA and within the Dale community of South Carolina from May

to July of 1994.[54] The community of elders in Dale (10 to 15 miles Inland) shares an identity and spends time together, fostering the preservation of storytelling, trickster tales, and religious stories. The broader analysis of this dissertation compares trickster tales and folktales gathered from the Sea Islands to those of Guadeloupe. Davis suggests that the endurance of such tales as Br'er Rabbit, The Signifying Monkey, and John have persisted because they offered coping mechanisms for African American communities faced with similar circumstances, such as the Sea Islands and Guadeloupe.

Along with trickster tales, there were other mechanisms of resistance practiced within Gullah communities. Janie Hunter, a well known Gullah storyteller, informed Davis that Gullah language allowed slaves to conceal their private lives, thereby undermining the control of EuroAmericans (1998, 71). Hunter referred to this language strategy as "cat language," meaning to run the words together so EuroAmericans couldn't understand them. Many scholars have suggested this strategy is also rooted in African oral tradition. Unfortunately, as Davis reports, extreme population loss within Sea Island communities has contributed to a loss of oral history, folktales, and storytelling.

In order to legitimize the study of folklore, Davis suggests the brilliance of Zora Neale Hurston as the point of departure for investigating African American folklore: enabling storytelling to be presented as both performance and a tool of communication within the community. Hurston, an official collector for the Federal Writers' Project in Georgia, presented African American culture as performance in everyday life, not merely as stories told for entertainment.[55]

Early Folklore Collections: Synthesis and Critique

Many contemporary scholars of Gullah cite Elsie Clews Parsons for her collection, Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands (1923), which illuminates the similarities between West African folk tales and customs and those documented in Sea Island folklore. Parson's work is important in that she divulges her difficulties in obtaining cooperation due to the barriers between white researcher and African American informants. Within this collection we find over two hundred folktales collected during the month of February, 1919, from Gullah residents originating from Dataw, Edisto, Ladies, Paris, Coosaw, Hilton Head, Daufuskie, and St. Helena Island. Her data were obtained from ninety such informants. There are also riddles, proverbs, songs, and games included. Parsons pays only brief attention to folk beliefs in the concluding chapter "Folk Ways and Notions." Here she touches on Gullah ideas about births and babies, initiation to the church, dating and marriage, economy, weather signs and star-lore, dreams, sickness, black magic and curing, and death, burial, and mourning (1923).

It is important to note, however, that others criticize her work as limited and narrow. Twining (1977) and Hargrove (2000) suggest that Parson's work is limited by the lack of details concerning the social position of her informants (e.g. occupation, age, marital status, residence, etc.), and lack of elaboration concerning the methodology of her data collection. She also fails to include the context of how the stories were collected and gives no substantive data concerning her interaction with informants (e.g. where the interviews took place, how much time was spent with informants, interactions aside from interviews, etc.). Also criticized by contemporary scholars is The Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast, compiled by Ambrose Gonzales (1922). An excerpt from his introduction, concerning the language of the Gullah, serves well to illustrate the underlying theme of most early folklore collections concerning Gullah communities:

Slovenly and careless of speech, these Gullahs seized upon the peasant English used by some of the early settlers and by the white servants of the wealthier Colonists, wrapped their clumsy tongues about it as well as they could, and, enriched with certain expressive African words, it issued through their flat noses and thick lips as so workable a form of speech that is was gradually adopted by the other slaves and became in time the accepted Negro speech of the lower districts of South Carolina and Georgia (10).

Gonzales uses a wide range of insulting and derogatory words to describe the subjects of his collection, thereby devaluing the rich cultural heritage he sought to collect, record, and publish.

William Bascom: Dean of Folklore

Folktales are of tremendous importance to the study of Gullah culture. They offer particular insight into slavery, language, worldview, morals, religion, health and medicine, tradition and customs, and social practice. Folklore has been gathered throughout the Sea Islands of Georgia and Florida. One of the most respected early collectors of folklore within the Sea Islands was William Bascom, referred to as the "dean of folklore" by William Pollitzer (1999, 161). Bascom conducted fieldwork on St. Helena, Hilton Head, Daufuskie, Tybee, Sapelo, St. Simons, Wilmington, Skidaway, Ossabaw, and St. Catherine Island, interviewing 114 informants during the summer of 1939. His findings were summarized in a paper, "Gullah Folk Beliefs Concerning Childbirth" read at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society at Andover Massachusetts on December 29, 1941. The article appears in Twining and Baird's volume Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia (1991). Much of what Bascom collected is still cited by contemporary folklorists.

Informants revealed several beliefs to Bascom concerning how and when a child is born and what that signifies about the child and the future. For example, a child born in a caul[56] signifies luck and wisdom. Such a child will be gifted with the ability to see "ghosses" and "ha'nts" (Bascom 1991). When such a child is born, the caul is dried and used to drive away ghosts. Another belief concerns breech babies, referred to as a "foot foremost child." A child born in this way is destined to be lucky, and will desire to travel. The shape of an infant's head is also significant in Gullah folklore. According to Bascom's field data a child born with a "square head" means the child is smart, while a "short, flat head" signifies a hard worker. It is also thought to bring good luck when a child is born with lots of hair on its head.

Folk beliefs were also collected concerning the widespread practice of midwifery (often referred to as Granny women). Midwives or Grannys were very important people within Sea Island communities. Several residents of St. Helena Island, whose interviews are discussed in Hargrove (2000), recounted the births of their children as being delivered by these "granny women" (Hargrove 2000). Midwives are believed to be able to tell the sex of an unborn child. Bascom's informants suggested that if a midwife were still able to bear children herself she would sometimes take on the pains of childbirth from the woman she was attending (1941). There are also recollections, within the broader collections of folklore, of the act of putting an axe or knife underneath the mattress to cut the pains of childbirth (Parsons 1923). Bascom also collected information about herbal remedies used to cut the pain of childbirth, suggesting tansy (Tanacetum vulgare) as one of the most widely used. Within the collection there are tales of the processing of the umbilical chord, suggesting it was wrapped in newspaper, with the afterbirth, and burned or buried (Bascom 1941). We also learn that weaning was accomplished by rubbing turpentine or pepper on the breast.

Animal Stories

Animal stories have been a part of Gullah storytelling for as long as anyone can remember (Carawan 1989). Janie Hunter, one of the best known "keepers of the culture," reminds us that animal stories were more than just entertainment for children. They were filled with wit and logic meant to teach children important life lessons:

> When we was small, we didn't 'low to go no place, but we have all we fun at home. On weekend when we do all work what told to us and after we finish work at night, we sit down and we all sing different old song, and parents teach us different game and riddles. We go and cut the wood and wrap up the house with green oak and muckle wood, then we all stays by the fire chimbley and listen to stories" (Carawan 1989, 96).

Tales such as "The Rabbit and the Partridge"[57] instill skepticism and caution in children, as well as being quite entertaining.

It is important that folklore not be cast as a remnant of the past. Jones-Jackson recorded a session of storytelling on Wadmalaw Island which illustrates the social aspects of storytelling (1987). The story "Mock Plea of Brother Rabbit" requires the audience to take an active role in the story, voicing the whimpers and whining of Ber Rabbit. The interaction between storyteller and audience makes it much more fun and entertaining, while the story itself illustrates how the Rabbit outsmarts the farmer. These same types of interactions have been taking place for hundreds of years in the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina. Storytelling remains an important part of Sea Island life, serving as a means of passing family and community histories down to future generations of Gullah and Geechee descendants (Bah, personal communication, 2001), as well as creating and maintaining cultural cohesion.

Conclusion

It would be possible to devote an entire book to the study of Gullah and Geechee folklore; the present goal is to offer insight into the range of folklore collected within the Sea Islands with particular attention paid to material frequently cited and recognized by other Gullah scholars. Works chosen for inclusion are presented in a respectful manner, which values folklore as more than ideas of simple folk. Folklore is more than storytelling, although the art of storytelling[58] continues to be an important skill within Gullah communities. Even religious sermons can be viewed within the context of verbal art (Jones-Jackson 1994) and the power of speech within religious ritual. Folklore, and the broader value of verbal art, is one of our best clues for study and increased understanding of the past, particularly in areas where much cultural information was contained in an oral tradition, as was the case in the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

Chapter 5
Land, Slavery, Autonomy, and Conflict

"For Gullahs, the land is an extension of themselves" (Goodwine 1998c, 184).

Throughout the history of Gullah and Geechee people, land has played a central role in their everyday lives. All aspects of Gullah and Geechee culture are tied to the land, and it serves as a psychological reminder of their connection with the ancestors and their communal plantation life (Bah, personal communication 2001). In their uses of medicinal plants and herbal remedies, their knowledge of the natural environment is essential. Religious sermons of the past and present emphasize strong cultural ties to the land. The land has supplied these populations with nourishment for their bodies, as well as self-sufficiency, since the days of emancipation; and land ownership after emancipation induced autonomy and pride. The use of land and their ties to it, unfortunately, have been forced to change over the years; however, where possible the Gullah and Geechee people of South Carolina and Georgia remain tied to their land in many ways.

Plantation Agriculture

In order to put land into context one must first consider why South Carolina and Georgia were chosen as sites for plantation agriculture. In the beginning, slavery was transplanted to Charles Town from Barbados and Jamaica in the Caribbean. As agricultural land became scarce on the Caribbean islands, the English planter class found Charles Town, South Carolina, to be an optimal spot for continued sugar cultivation. Within a very short time it occurred to them that the land of the Lowcountry was better suited for another kind of crop cultivation: rice. Coastal areas of the Lowcountry are geographically marked by fresh-water rivers that experience the rise and fall of fresh water tides, making such locations self-irrigating, and therefore ideal for rice cultivation.

A shift from sugar to rice cultivation required several things: first, the planters knew very little about rice cultivation, therefore it was essential to begin hand-selecting Africans who had prior experience and knowledge of rice cultivation. Second, rice cultivation requires work in swampy areas, which were abundant throughout the area, but such areas are conducive to malaria (Cassidy 1994). These two factors had great implications for those who we now recognize as Gullah and Geechee[59] people. Planters began selecting Africans from specific areas, such as present day Liberia and Sierra Leone for their extensive knowledge and biological immunity to malaria (Wood 1975; Holloway 1990; Cassidy 1994).

The relationship between slavery and rice cultivation has been addressed by a variety of scholars (Salter 1968;[60] Wood 1975; Littlefield 1981; Goodwine 1999.) However, the most recent contribution, Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas (Carney 2001) expands the discussion in ways not previously possible. This study reveals the ways in which indigenous knowledge of rice cultivation and agricultural innovation was brought to the Sea Islands in the minds of enslaved Africans. Furthermore, Carney's in-depth methodology of cross- comparative research between the Sea Islands and West Africa traces the diffusion of water control, winnowing practices, rice milling techniques, cooking techniques, and seed selection to the plantations of South Carolina and Georgia (2001). On the eve of the American Revolution, South Carolina rice plantations were producing sixty million pounds of rice annually for the global market (Carney 2001). This study reveals how African knowledge of rice cultivation established the basis for the Carolina economy (140).

Along with their expertise in rice cultivation, enslaved Africans brought other advantageous technologies.[61] Fanner baskets, for example, played an integral role in the continuation of basketry, due to its utilitarian purpose (Chase 1971). Once the rice was loosened from the husks it was put in these fanner baskets, from which the rice was tossed into the air, falling back to the basket while the chaff blew away. The process of

"fanning the rice" was continued until the rice was perfectly clean. Prior to Carney's Black Rice (2001) many scholars suggested enslaved Africans "learned" the technique of fanning rice (Chase 1971). However, in light of her data, the knowledge of all things having to do with rice cultivation and processing can be established as indigenous knowledge brought from Africa and handed down from generation to generation (Carney 2001). Carney supports Dale Rosengarten's assertion of a cultural connection between South Carolina "fanner" baskets, and Senegambian winnowing baskets (Rosengarten 1994; Carney 2001).

Rice, Cotton, and Indigo: Building Blocks of the South Carolina Economy

> The historical relationship between agriculture and economics in the Sea Islands rests on the backs of enslaved Africans (Pollitzer 1999). By taking full advantage of free labor, Sea Island planters were among the richest in North America. Rice cultivation began as soon as the first English colonies were settled, and by 1700 there was more rice being produced that there were ships to transport it (Pollitzer 1999). The need for labor fueled the Transatlantic Slave Trade, while the slave trade fueled the various plantation economies. By 1860, South Carolina was home to as many as 257 rice plantations, which produced nearly 80,000 tons of rice per year. Of the fourteen planters in the country that owned 500 or more slaves, nine were rice planters (Joyner 1984).

Indigo was the next economic fire to be fueled by slave labor, beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It all started with a teenage girl in Antigua. Eliza Lucas, the daughter of a Lieutenant-Colonel stationed in Antigua, began experimenting with seeds on her father's plantation. Cultivating quality indigo was her top priority, and through trial and error she succeeded in cultivated a flourishing seed crop by 1744 (Pollitzer 1999). She shared the seeds with Carolina planters through established trade routes, and by 1747 enough indigo was being produced in Carolina to export to England (ibid). Indigo flourished as one of the major staples for around thirty years. As the value began to decline in the early 1800s,[62] Sea Island cotton moved in to take its place alongside rice as the major export crop of the Sea Island region (ibid).

The precise time at which cotton came to the Sea Islands is up for debate; however the first successful crop was reported on Hilton Head Island in 1790 (Seabrook 1844). Within a decade cotton cultivation had replaced indigo as the region's premiere staple crop (Johnson 1930). Sea-island cotton reached the height of production in 1819, with exports reaching nearly nine million pounds (Rosengarten 1986). Cotton continued to be grown in the Sea Islands until the early 1900s, when it was badly damaged due to boll weevil infestation, but never at the capacity seen in the 1800s. The combination of rice, cotton, and indigo fed the need for African labor throughout the Sea Islands during 190 years of legal slavery.

The Task System: Unique Characteristics of Sea Island Slavery

Sea Island plantations operated on a task system, vastly different from the gang system widely used throughout the South. The task system is based on an allotted amount of work for each field hand, usually broken down into acreage to be worked per day (Joyner 1977; Pollitzer 1999). As pointed out by G.G. Johnson (1930), from research done on St. Helena Island, the "task" came to signify a quarter of an acre, laid out 105 by 105 feet. A typical allotment for a plowman "was usually four tasks, or an acre a day" (83). Also unique to Sea Island slavery was the opportunity for marriage, health provisions, and even literacy on some plantations (McGuire 1985). The unique nature of the task system, which offered "off time" also fostered the retention of African cultural patterns (Joyner 1977). The current discussion of the task system should not be taken to indicate slavery was more humane in these areas; simply there were opportunities available for Sea Island slaves not typically offered to others in bondage. An excerpt from the South Carolina Federal Writers' Project (1936-1938) illustrates the daily routine of slaves working under the task system: (Volume XIV South Carolina Narratives p. 271-276/ Library of Congress)

> Ebery slabe hab tas' (task) to do. Sometime one task (quarter acre), sometime two tas' and sometime t'ree. You haf for wuk 'til tas' t'ru (through). W'en cotton done mek, you hab odder tas'. Haffa cut cord ob mash (marsh) grass maybe. Tas' ob mash been eight feet long and four feet

high. Den sometime you haffa roll cord ob mud in cowpen. 'Ooman haffa rake leaf from wood into cowpen (this was used for fertilizer). W'en you knock off wuk, you kin wuk on your land. Maybe you might hab two or t'ree tas' ob land 'round your cabin what Maussa gib you for plant. You kin hab chicken, maybe hawg. You kin sell aig (egg) and chicken to store and Maussa will buy your hawg. In dat way slabe kin hab money for buy t'ing lak fish and w'atebber he want. We don't git much fish in slabery 'cause we nebber hab boat. But sometime you kin t'row out net en ketch shrimp. You kin also ketch 'possum and raccoon wid your dawg (Project #-1655,
Sam Polite, age 93, Born on Fripp Plantation, St. Helena Island, Beaufort County).

Land Acquisition and Self- Sufficiency in Isolation

The Civil War, and subsequent emancipation of enslaved Africans, created a class of landed freedmen in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. Special Field Order 15, issued by Sherman in 1864, set aside all abandoned land from Charleston to Florida for the exclusive use and ownership of the freedmen and women of island communities. The Federal Government participated in cooperative land buys in order to sell land to Sea Islanders. It was the only place in the country where the offer of "forty acres and a mule" became partially recognized. The acres were sold at $1.25 per acre. This obligation was often fulfilled by two to three day's work per week for three years as a sharecropper or tenant farmer (Day 1982).[63] This action, referred to as "a multifaceted experiment in democracy" (McGuire 1985, 2)[64] encouraged self-sufficiency and created autonomous, self-governing, communities is such places as St. Helena Island and Hilton Head. Overwhelmingly, freedmen chose to remain on their "home place," the plantation they had worked as slaves (Normand 1994). In the minds of freedmen and women the ownership of this land was directly tied to their liberty and freedom.[65]

By 1870, Census data suggests the majority of St. Helena residents owned parcels of land, thus making it possible to avoid the hardships of sharecropping and tenant farming (Normand 1994).[66] Within Beaufort County, which offered freed slaves the greatest opportunities for land acquisition, 98% of heads of household were Black, while at least 70% owned their own farms (ibid). At the time of Salter's dissertation work (late 1950s) Hilton Head Island was reported as having 350 small Negro land holdings, between 2 and 50 acres (Salter 1968).

From the beginning of land ownership the use and allocation of this valuable resource has been mediated by the family unit (Moerman 1974), which has remained the most important social unit of Gullah and Geechee culture. Typically, extended families are spread across a family social unit, referred to as a compound. Sea Islanders conceptualize land very differently than most; it is viewed "not as a commodity that is sold, but a right that is transferred to kin as needed" (Day 1982, 16). Land is not sold, but is passed on to all children through a previously unwritten contract known as "heir's land" (Day 1982; Jones-Jackson 1987). Under "heir's land," or "heir's property" land was rarely sold. The entire parcel is owned "in common" by all the family members, therefore no one person has sole rights over it. Only when relatives did not have sufficient land to pass to all children was this rule amended, and the charge to extended family was $1.00, simply to fulfill legal tenants of the state (Guthrie 1996). The problem with such a system, however, is the ways in which real estate developers have capitalized on the absence of a formal written will, in a practice referred to as "partitioning." ("Legal Maneuvers Used to Strip Families of Land: Blacks especially vulnerable to procedure called partitioning," Charleston Gazette, Sunday December 9, 2001 (http://sundaygazettemail.com/news/US+&+World/ 200112095/). Sea Islanders have recently began amending this type of ownership in an attempt to hold on to ancestral property. Special courses are being offered by grassroots organizations and Sea Island churches, assisting Sea Islanders with writing wills in the proper fashion and offering to loan them money to pay property taxes (Hargrove 2000).

From Emancipation until quite recently Sea Island communities remained largely self-sufficient, utilizing their agricultural and fishing skills to meet their needs. Many islands remained isolated, with no connector

bridges, until the middle of the twentieth century. Even electricity arrived late, coming to the more remote islands only as recently as the 1960s (Jones-Jackson 1987). This century of isolation, beginning with emancipation, brought about many changes in land use patterns. Sea Island freedmen who became landowners proceeded to cultivate the crop already in production, such as rice and cotton, until the boll weevil infestation of the 1920s. This event terminated cotton production for most farmers, aside from the few who converted to the short- staple variety (Salter 1968). Those who could no longer earn a living from cotton entered into truck farming, which remains a viable economic option for the present day farmers of several Sea Island communities, including Johns, Wadmalaw, Edisto, St. Helena, and Ladies Island (Salter 1991). The leading value crops for truck farming continue to be tomato and cucumbers. St. Helena Island is dominated by tomato truck farming, and utilizes migrant farm labor from Mexico during harvest season (Hargrove 2000).

Agricultural Practices

Much of the early work conducted in the Sea Islands was concentrated on farming techniques and agricultural practices. T.J. Woofter conducted research on St. Helena Island as part of a cooperative project between the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social Science Research Council. The project began in the late 1920s as an effort to investigate the unique African American culture on St. Helena Island (which we now refer to as Gullah). Woofter's data are presented in Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island (1930). This book gives an in-depth look at the agricultural practices of St. Helena Island between 1850 and 1930, covering all aspects from composting to the construction of chicken houses. Guy B. Johnson's Folk Culture on St. Helena Island (1930) and G. G. Johnson's A Social History of the Sea Islands (1930) represent the second and third components to this special study.

Forces of Change: Land Use and Land Loss

Other forces, aside from agriculture, have altered land use in more negative ways. Farmland is now the prime target of developers (Carawan 1989), and agricultural lands continue to be rapidly reduced by residential, commercial, and tourism development (Hargrove 2000), not to mention the land taken out of production on islands housing military bases. Statistics obtained from census data suggest an overwhelming amount of land being taken out of food production between 1987 and 1992. Farming acreage in Beaufort County dropped more than 17% between 1987 and 1992. Charleston County also shows a severe reduction in farmlands: nearly 23% during that same five-year period. That amounts to almost 20,000 acres being taken out of farming production within a five-year period. The question becomes, what is it being used for now?

Resort Development in the South Carolina Sea Islands

The present situation of Sea Island communities consists of dramatic changes. One need look no further than Hilton Head Island, which only 50 years ago was home to an African-American farming community. Connector bridges began being built to the islands during the 1950s and "everything change up now" (Ed Brown, resident of Wadmalaw Island, quoted in Jones- Jackson 1987). Land is constantly taken out of production and converted to resort development for the industry of tourism. Present day Hilton Head is populated wealthy EuroAmericans, residing in communities named after successful plantations of the slavery era. The tremendous devastation to Sea Island communities will be further discussed in Chapter 9, "Development and Change: Gullah as an Endangered Species."

Chapter 6

Health and Medicine

Sea Islanders possess vast knowledge about the world around them, particularly as it pertains to maximizing health and wellness. Many folk remedies and beliefs concerning health and medicine suggest the earliest enslaved Africans brought diverse plant knowledge, which has been transplanted throughout the Gullah/ Geechee area (Pollitzer 1999). Several studies have been conducted which have added bits and pieces to our knowledge of Gullah folk medicine and perspectives on faith and healing (Joyner 1984; Bascom 1991; Pollitzer 1999[67]). In a general sense, many Sea Islanders recognize herbal remedies as an option, but a precious few have been able to master this physical world. These knowledgeable few are recognized as "root doctors" and/ or "herbalists," who occupy an esteemed position within their communities.[68] Many Sea Islanders readily turn to home remedies as their first line of defense against illness and overall physical and mental maintenance; but some turn to the root specialists who dot the Gullah/ Geechee landscape.

In general, within the wide range of medicinal herbs used by Sea Islanders, there appear to be several that were versatile in their application. Life everlasting (Gnaphalium polycephalum) has been used for centuries to relieve cramps, cure a cold, combat diseases of the bowels and pulmonary system, and relieve foot pain (Pollitzer 1999). Dog fennel (Anthemis cotula L) and mullein (Verbascum thapsus) are suggested as satisfactory for treating colds, stuffy noses, headaches and nervous conditions (Jones-Jackson 1987). Bark from a red oak tree (Quercus falcata) was also useful when boiled and drank as a tea; it is said to combat rheumatism (Parsons 1923) as well as dysentery (Joyner 1999).

Gullah Herbal Remedies: Hoodoo Medicine

In the early 1970s, Faith Mitchell[69] began conducted research on traditional folk beliefs and medicine within the Sea Islands, with special emphasis placed on St. Helena Island. Her findings were later published as Hoodoo Medicine: Sea Island Herbal Remedies (1978). This collection is extraordinary in several ways. Most important, it contains a directory of all the medicinal roots, herbs, and plants used on the Sea Islands of South Carolina. It's uniqueness, however, is attributed to the more than fifty detailed drawings included for each botanical of interest. In addition to being an excellent resource concerning plant use, Mitchell sets the historical stage by including a discussion of medicinal plant practices during slavery and the existence of plantation slaves who operated as somewhat "official" medical personnel. These doctors, or "doctresses", were specialists in certain roots and herbs that grew in the Sea Islands; bearers of an oral tradition brought from Africa to America. The similarities of flora and fauna between West Africa and the Carolina coast allowed the plant knowledge to be transferred to their new environment.

Mitchell (1978) suggests there are three distinct types of black folk medicine practice: there are those who practice healing techniques using barks, berries, herbs, leaves and roots to combat natural illness (cold, influenza, and malaria during the plantation era). Second, there are those who deal strictly with spiritual illness, traditionally believed to be punishment for sin, through offerings of verbal blessings or laying on of hands (1978). And third, Mitchell suggests, there are those who specialize in occult illness, believed to be caused by an individual being hexed by "hoodoo" or conjure, cast by supernatural methods. Sea Island people often wear amulets to protect against hoodoo (Mitchell 1978). It is important to clarify that hoodoo is different than "voodoo." Voodoo is a blend of African mystic beliefs and Catholicism more common around New Orleans, whereas hoodoo is a common term used by antebellum blacks to describe methods of natural healing and magic (ibid).

Rootwork: Beliefs and Practices on St. Helena Island

Rootwork: Psychosocial Aspects of Malign Magical and Illness Beliefs in a South Carolina Sea Island Community (Heyer 1981)[70] is an investigation into the beliefs and practices of 'rootwork" within the community of St. Helena Island. Kathryn W. Heyer conducted one year of fieldwork on St. Helena Island between 1977 and 1978. Rootwork, as defined by Heyer, refers to a system of malign magical beliefs used to explain physical and psychological disturbances and to obtain relief by consulting a specialist or 'rootworker' who removes the evil spell and thereby brings about a cure. The aim of the dissertation is to provide a detailed description of beliefs in rootwork, as well as the existence of related beliefs in spirits, hags[71], and ghosts, in relation to other aspects of the social and personal lives of the believers.

Heyer's work makes an important contribution to the existing knowledge of rootwork, herbal remedies, and folk medicine.[72] Many scholars suggest such practices are doomed to disappear over time; however Heyer's work documents recent practices in a viable Sea Island community. In an attempt to present an insider's (emic) view of island life and thought concerning health and traditional practices, Heyer interviewed ninety-four residents of St. Helena Island. Information in the dissertation was taken from forty of those informants. She also recorded two life histories, one of which appears in the Appendix (Heyer 1981) and fifty-five hours of taped interviews. It is a detailed look at one particular woman's life regarding the importance of rootwork and beliefs in malign magic.

Heyer documents the existence of four rootworkers in active practice on or near St. Helena Island, blatantly disputing the claim that rootwork is no longer a commonly held belief among the residents of St. Helena Island. One of the rootworkers was a EuroAmerican man, who allegedly inherited his power from his grandmother. Heyer was able to apprentice with him, directly involved in the observation of practice in action. Within this study, Heyer documents the detailed accounts of rootwork being performed through recording fourteen actual case studies (1981).

Along with recording the practice of rootwork, Heyer contributes to our knowledge about the function of rootwork within this particular community, especially as it pertains to non-health related factors. Rootwork, as suggested by Heyer's informants, is an attempt to explain or control events in which scientific explanations and/or manipulations are believed to be ineffective or powerless. Herbal healing is the first line strategy for coping with most illness, and remedies are passed through the generations through oral history. This belief system also serves as a method of social control, working to discourage anti-social and unacceptable behavior (Heyer 1981). This collection records wart talkers: people who talk warts away, and fire-talkers who are able to heal burns. At present, Heyer's work is very important; it has the potential to improving physician's knowledge and understanding of rootwork and Gullah belief systems concerning health and medicine, thereby fostering a greater understanding and respect for Gullah knowledge and culture.

Health and Medicine: Adapting to Change

Heyer was not the first to conduct research on St. Helena Island with an interest in health and indigenous knowledge. During the early 1970s Daniel E. Moerman resided in the community and conducted extensive ethnographic interviews concerning medicinal plant use and indigenous systems of popular medicine.[73] The research Moerman gathered later produced his dissertation, Extended Family and Popular Medicine on St. Helena Island, S.C: Adaptations to Marginality (1974). What differentiates his research findings from Heyer's later work (1981) is interpretation of the data. Moerman proposes that folk medical practices and belief systems persisted as an adaptive response to inadequate access to health care within Beaufort County at the time of the study (fee-for-services system).

Along with being an excellent resource for the study of health and medicine, Moerman situates his research within a historical and social context, including the population statistics for St. Helena, 4,500 residents, at the time of study (1971). Among those interviewed was the famous, well-respected Dr. York Bailey (the first Black doctor on St. Helena Island). He also gathered extensive genealogies (850 entries entered into a cross-referenced file to facilitate kinship connections) and life histories, in addition to conducting extensive

interviews concerning medicinal plant use. Data obtained from interviews is synthesized into what the author refers to as "The St. Helena Popular Pharmacopeia" (168-208); a detailed presentation of common name, genus and species, use, years of use, and indications for use. Appendix 1 and 2 contain two extensive life histories.

In the early 1970s many Sea Island communities, including St. Helena Island, were being economically and culturally marginalized due to a rapid switch from self-sufficiency to wage labor and a cash economy (Moerman 1974). Within the larger struggle to maintain control over their future, the residents of St. Helena were heavily reliant on one another, with Moerman's data on household composition illustrating the importance of family, extended family, and kinship within this dynamic Sea Island community. Within the context of health and medicine, Moerman includes a discussion of the social services offered, and accepted by, the residents of St. Helena. There is also an excellent discussion within the dissertation outlining the epidemiology of St. Helena Island from the early 1900s up to research period.

One of the major methodological problems with much of the existing data concerning Sea Island communities is misrepresentation. Fieldwork experiences are taken as representative of the whole of Gullah culture, although only witnessed for a small amount of time through the eyes and lives of a small percentage of the community (Moerman 1974). Moerman was not the first to suggest this methodological oversimplification, but he gives concrete reasons for his position. Citing the work by Guy Carawan, Moerman suggests Ain't You Got a Right to The Tree of Life is an inaccurate portrayal of the St. John community. This point cannot be over emphasized. Within many Sea Island communities, research of any kind is hard to negotiate (Heyer 1981; Hargrove 2000). Social scientists must work diligently in the future to combat the wrongs of the past in a collaborative and intellectually honest venture between researcher and knowledge holders. It is truly the only way we can continue to learn from the rich cultural heritage of Gullah/ Geechee people.

A Cautionary Note Concerning Future Research

Future research is essential in this area. Many scholars suggest the folk remedies and medicinal plant use patterns are in danger of loss due to encroachment, environmental devastation,[74] and culture change. Recent scholarly work, however, suggests these practices continue as a viable alternative to modern medicine for many ailments. What is not adequately elaborated, unfortunately, is the personal and sacred nature of such beliefs from the perspective of Sea Island community members. Work pertaining to these folk traditions should be approached in collaboration with community leaders who have access to the elders and bearers of such knowledge. Moving toward a balance between indigenous and scholarly research will record these valued cultural treasures without furthering the rift between academics and Gullah people.

Chapter 7

Arts and Crafts: Syncretisms[75] and Innovations

There are several distinct research areas devoted to Gullah arts and crafts. The craft that has received the most scholarly attention is coiled sweetgrass basketry (Chase 1971; Derby 1980; Rosengarten 1986; Hargrove 2000). There is documentation of basket production by South Carolina slaves as early as 1690 (Vlach 1978). The tradition of sewing baskets was essential to the early years of plantation life due to the utilitarian nature of the craft (Chase 1971, Rosengarten[76] 1994). The agricultural technology of rice production in the Low Country was distinctly African (Rosengarten 1994), therefore the tools of the trade are similar. The "fanner" basket was of principal use during the processing of rice. Once the rice was loosened from the husks it was put in these fanner baskets, from which the rice was tossed into the air, falling back to the basket while the chaff blew away. The process of "fanning the rice" was continued until the rice was perfectly clean. This type of physical motion is a skill learned in Africa and passed on to subsequent generations (Chase 1971; Carney 2001). Baskets have been used for the same purpose in Africa for hundreds of years. Low Country baskets most resemble those of the Congo, Senegambia, and Angola (Twining 1977, Vlach 1978). Through the continuation of cultural arts, the enslaved of South Carolina found ways to preserve their African heritage.

Cultural Continuity: From Africa to the Sea Islands

Baskets are a traditional part of Gullah culture and signify a strong connection between West Africa and the Sea Islands of South Carolina.[77] Those who make baskets prefer to be called "sewers" because that is precisely how baskets are constructed (Rosengarten 1994). The enslaved Africans of South Carolina adapted their knowledge of the African environment to the Lowcountry environment, using black rush (Juncus roemarianus) and sweetgrass (Muhlembergia filipes and M. capillaris) bound with strips of Palmetto (Sabal palmetto) (Rosengarten 1994). Modern day baskets differ only slightly from their ancestral counterparts. Most basket sewers now incorporate long leaf pine needles (Pinus palustris) for decoration, as well as to make up for the scarcity of sweetgrass resulting from increased development in the Sea Island areas (Marquetta L. Goodwine, personal communication, 2002).

Baskets were a necessity item during the plantation era. The principal use was for processing rice, but they were utilized for a variety of daily activities. Early visitors to South Carolina report seeing Gullah babies being carried in large fanner baskets (Rosengarten 1994). They were also used to take produce, flowers, and herbs to market in Charleston. As Sea Island communities moved from plantation agriculture to subsistence farming, after Emancipation and the Civil War, farmers used baskets to gather crops as well as to transport them to market. Upon recognizing the importance and utility of this African craft, the administrators and teachers at Penn Normal School added it to the curriculum. The baskets were used at Penn during everyday activites, as well as sold through mail orders and craft shops in Charleston, Philadelphia, and Boston (Rosengarten 1994). The excess cash allowed Penn School to assist local farm families in paying land taxes.

The sewers in Mt. Pleasant got their first taste of wholesale marketing in 1916 through Charles W. Legerton, a Charleston merchant and civic leader (Rosengarten 1986). Legerton bought set quantities of baskets from Sam Coakley, who acted as a liaison between Legerton and the sewers of Mt. Pleasant. Legerton sold the baskets through his bookstore on King Street, and later through the Sea Grass Basket Company, started between 1916 and 1917 (ibid). In 1920 the company name was changed to Seagrassco. Legerton capitalized on the industry using print media to advertise Mt. Pleasant baskets until the late 1930s, when basket sewers began directly marketing their wares to tourists on Highway 17. This move would forever change the course of the basket industry in Mt. Pleasant, where one can presently find many stands

along the roadsides. Contemporary research, conducted by Melissa Hargrove, cites several Mt. Pleasant basket women who still remember their mothers and grandmothers sewing baskets for Mr. Legerton (2000).

Development and Change: From Utilitarian Craft to Folk Art

The sweetgrass basket tradition of the South Carolina Sea Islands has undergone rapid change due to increased tourism, increased development, and generational differences in ideology. The community that has become famous for the production of sweetgrass basketry is Mt. Pleasant,[78] located just across the Cooper River from Charleston, South Carolina. Presently there are multiple basket stands along the roadsides of Highway 17, many of which have been there for several generations. The tradition of setting up basket stands along the roadsides began in the 1940s (Rosengarten 1986), as a way to take advantage of the increased tourism traffic coming from Charleston. What began as a utilitarian craft has become folk art, thereby creating a specialized economy for those with the skill (Derby 1980).[79] The designation of the baskets as "folk art" has required basket makers to incorporate new styles (Vlach 1978; Rosengarten 1994), while also increasing the price collectors and tourists are willing to pay.

Ethnographic Accounts of Mt. Pleasant Basket Sewers

The basket sewers of Mt. Pleasant have been the focus of two extensive ethnographies, conducted twenty years apart, which reveal the adaptive nature of the sweetgrass basket industry. Doris Derby conducted fieldwork in Mt. Pleasant in 1977 and 1978,[80] resulting in her dissertation, Black Women Basket Makers: A Study of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolina (1980). The crux of her research was aimed at determining the effects of increased tourism on the economic viability of basket women in the Mt. Pleasant area. Derby concluded that basket sewing has endured many adaptations over time. Basketry served a utilitarian purpose during plantation slavery, it has functioned as an economic development strategy for Mt. Pleasant women since World War I, and it had (at the time of her research) responded well to the stimulus of the tourism industry in and around Charleston (1980). Derby concluded that the basket industry was adaptive, suggesting it would ultimately endure; however a subsequent study indicates the battle had just begun.

Nearly twenty years later, beginning in 1988, Melissa D. Hargrove began ongoing ethnographic research to investigate the affects of tourism and development on Mt. Pleasant basket weavers, resulting in her masters thesis, Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism (2000).[81] Hargrove suggests the basket industry is being negatively impacted by development, which literally paves over or digs up the valuable resources necessary for sewing baskets (Hargrove 2000). Materials for basket weaving are no longer available, forcing many weavers to buy their sweetgrass from Florida. More importantly, Hargrove suggests the South Carolina tourism industry is appropriating the craft of sweetgrass baskets for use in tourism literature, as a strategy for increasing tourism revenue (Hargrove 2000). Many basket makers remain scattered along Highway 17 while others have lost their stands to strip malls and gas stations.[82] With tourism in the area continuing to increase, Hargrove suggests officials of Charleston County should acknowledge their role in development agendas that further compromise the future of this legendary art form.

Gullah Artisans as Craftmen of the South

Sweetgrass basketry is not the only craft associated with Gullah culture.
Leonard P. Stavisky (1958), through historical document research, revealed the enormous contributions early Gullah artisans made to the Charleston area. These types of contributions are often overlooked in the canonical literature concerning Gullah culture. It is estimated that as much as 80 to 90% of all crafts produced between 1800 and 1890 in and around Charleston were the craftsmanship of Gullah artisans (Stavisky 1958). Charleston became a training center for much of the South Atlantic region. Owners from all over sent their slaves to be trained in a variety of areas: ship carpentry, shoemaking, carpentry, sawing, farming, blacksmithing, wheat stocking, butchery, stone masonry, milling, ironworks, and coopering.

Stavisky suggests enslaved Africans were trained in these crafts as an attempt by slave owners to utilize their free labor in ways that would increase their productivity and marketability. Enslaved Africans who possessed certain skills could be hired out to neighboring plantations for wages. Also, skilled Gullah/ Geechee artisans were worth twice as much as field hands (Stavisky 1958).

These craftsmen and their contributions are also evident in rural areas. The sprawling plantation homes of the Charleston area were erected by slave labor, and trades learned as slaves were often passed down from generation to generation within slave families. Stavinsky reports children were apprenticed to the trades as early as four years old (1958). In these ways, as well as countless others, the Gullah artisans of the Charleston area greatly contributed to the overall economic might of the South. They should also be given due credit for the creation of an enduring legacy of Charleston's historic homes that continue to draw millions of tourists every year.

Quilting in the Sea Islands

Gullah quilting is yet another cultural trait that signifies connections between West Africa and the Sea Islands. Mary Twining (1991) suggests that quilting began out of economic necessity in the Sea Islands, and later came to signify an important role within the Gullah crafts tradition. Gullah quilts are recognized due to their distinct characteristic technique referred to as "strip formation." Rectangular bits of cloth, often scraps of fabric in an assortment of shapes, sizes, and colors, were pieced together to form the quilt top (Pollitzer 1999). They are sewn together in an uneven, curvilinear pattern easily distinguishable from European quilts. Quilt colors also hold special significance: red indicates danger, blue repels bad spirits, and white suggests innocence and purity (Twining 1991b).

Gullah quilts have come to signify important life events within the broader cultural framework.[83] Many can identify the patches on a quilt and determine the quilt's significance and meaning. Rites of passage such as marriage, births of children, young people leaving home to go to school, are often commemorated by the making or completion of a quilt which accompanies the departing family member to their new situation as a reminder of their ties back home (Twining 1991b). These family heirlooms are a valuable celebration of family history, as well as indicating the survival of African patterns (Pollitzer 1999). Gullah "strip quilts" bear striking resemblance to those of Ghana and Benin, where fabric is woven into long narrow strips, cut into usable lengths and sewn together at the edges (Vlach 1978).

Georgia Arts and Crafts

The majority of scholarly work on Gullah art and culture has been focused on South Carolina, however, there are cultural artifacts which can be directly linked to Gullah/ Geechee people of Georgia[84] which symbolize their talents as crafters of beauty and art. Cultural material found in archaeological contexts along the Georgia coast include drums (made of hollowed logs with pegged heads) and carved wooden walking sticks depicting reptiles[85] (Vlach 1978). Finds such as this represent Gullah/ Geechee folk art of the Georgia coast, in such places as Yamacraw and Wilmington Island. Gullah/ Geechee artisans have exhibited boat building skills for centuries. The multiple-log canoe is believed to symbolize possible African antecedents of coastal life of West Africa (Vlach 1978). This suggestion is based on the fact that Gullah/ Geechee people remain skilled in navigating boats through shallow streams and marshes, casting nets for subsistence and economic support. In a myriad of ways the daily lives of Gullah/ Geechee people have been influenced by traditions deeply rooted in an African past. All crafts extensively covered within the literature, including sweetgrass baskets, boat building, drums, walking sticks, and quilts should be taken to represent a living symbol of cultural continuity and adaptability.

Chapter 8

Leadership Patterns, Organization, and Cooperation

Many scholars look upon the Sea Island communities as doomed to destruction, but they are far from it. They have lost countless acres of family land, suffered restricted access to traditional livelihoods, such as fishing and farming, and continue to struggle against the swelling tides of development and tourism; however, Gullah people have a strong constitution. Throughout their history Gullah/Geechee communities have proved time and time again that they are great organizers. From the Civil Rights Movement to modern day grassroots struggles, the Sea Islanders have reason to be proud of the accomplishments they have made and the contributions of their descendants.

Guy and Candie Carawan's Aint you got a right to the tree of life? (1989) chronicles the evolution of the citizenship schools on Johns Island and their role in the development of a citizenship and literacy movement. The contributions of Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins had an undeniable impact on the Civil Rights movement as well as Johns Island and surrounding Sea Island communities. Their efforts, in conjunction with the Highlander Folk School, raised literacy and increased the number of registered Black voters. Supported by cultural values and group cohesion the strides made on Johns Island were directly responsible for similar movements and achievements, such as the development of citizenship schools, on both Edisto and Wadmalaw Island (Carawan 1989).

Cooperative work has been a part of Gullah/ Geechee culture since its inception, and reminds us yet again of their African cultural retentions. During the 1930s William R. Bascom investigated the origin of cooperative Sea Island work patterns by conducting fieldwork in both the Sea Islands and West Africa.[86] Bascom found similarities between the Yoruba institution of cooperative work and that of Sea Island communities (1941). On Sapelo Island in Georgia, and Hilton Head Island in South Carolina, Bascom interviewed informants who recalled group work. The practice of working to a drumbeat in Africa was replaced with singing songs in unison in the Sea Islands (1941). Bascom points out that the practice of working together in Hilton Head was only preserved in memory, but informants suggested Sapelo Island was still a place where people would "jump right into the field and help you out" (Bascom 1941, 45). The proposed connection between Sea Island cooperative work and similar practices in West Africa is further corroborated by Dr. Alpha Bah, professor of African History at the College of Charleston: "The idea of cooperation to accomplish a piece of work, such as sewing seeds or harvesting, remains a common practice among most West Africans" (personal communication 2002). It is also common knowledge to any scholar who had conducted research within Sea Island communities.

In 1977, a dissertation was written by June Thomas which illustrates the strong ethic of organization and participation within Sea Island communities: Blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands: Planning for Tourism and Land Development. This dissertation is a direct result of the author's involvement with the "Socio-Economic Impact Study: Resort Development and the Sea Islands," conducted by The Department of Urban and Metropolitan Studies, Michigan State University, in 1976. The study was aimed at assessing the effects of development on the local Black populations of the South Carolina Sea Islands, as well as making suggestions concerning future action and involvement concerning the proposed development of Kiawah Island.

Thomas, through her involvement with organizations and grassroots groups working against the development of Kiawah Island, came to realize that Sea Islanders have a history of community organization. Thomas studied past and ongoing organizations throughout the Sea Islands in order to propose an example for future action. Citing experiences from Johns Island (the organizational successes of Septima Clark and Esau Jenkins) as well as the Emergency Land Fund in Charleston (which is designed to

assist locals with land tax in an effort to retain land rights), Thomas illustrates the historical precedence of community involvement and grassroots action within Sea Island communities.

To illustrate the effects of non-involvement and lack of planning, Thomas presents Hilton Head Island[87] as what is to come if Kiawah is rezoned and developed. At the time of Thomas' study, Black landowners in Hilton Head were few and far between. Informants recalled the days before development when they grew peas, beans, and cotton in the summer and made quilts and children's clothes in the winter, only minutes later to remind themselves that all that was gone. The only options for employment, at the time of this study as well as presently, are menial low wage jobs with the resort and hotel industry.

> Thomas, in her final report made the following suggestions:
> 1. The development of a land issues center to educate Sea Islanders about land loss and titles.
> 2. The development of a business development center to identify people and resources as well as possible business areas.
> 3. Sea Islanders should maintain a high level of community involvement, by attending zoning hearings, running for office, and forming and supporting community organizations.

It is as if the residents of St. Helena Island read these suggestions and began acting upon them.

Policy Makers and Community Members Working Together

Recently community activists from St. Helena and Beaufort policy makers got together to initiate sound policies designed to halt future development of St. Helena Island. In 1997 the Beaufort County officials formulated what is referred to as the first draft of the Comprehensive plan, titled "Get a Grip on our Future." Among the many policy recommendations within this plan was the enhancement of "arts and humanities services for visitors in recognition of the importance of cultural heritage tourism to the County's economy" (BCCP[88] 1997:693). Also listed as an important factor was the hope that government officials, private sector businesses and the citizens could communicate with one another successfully and "speak with one voice" (547).

With Hilton Head Island serving as a reminder of what development can become, officials at all levels, joined by local activists, began cultivating development plans that would satisfy the residents of Sea Island communities while permitting controlled economic growth (Hargrove 2000).

In 1999, Beaufort City Council acted on aforementioned policy recommendations and adopted the Beaufort County Zoning and Development Standards Ordinance (BCZDSO).[89] According to the Ordinance, St. Helena "contributes toward the creation of an image of the County that is essential to the sense of place that residents and visitors alike share about the community." In light of this aspect, the Ordinance designated St. Helena as a "Cultural Protection Overlay District" (CPOD) designed to ensure the future of its unique position. The overall purpose of the plan is the effective long-term protection of cultural resources found on St. Helena, while protecting the Gullah community from encroaching development and displacement of residents (Hargrove 2000). The policy is concerned with four distinct aspects of development viewed as detrimental to Gullah preservation: gated communities, resorts, golf courses, and franchise businesses (BCZDSO 1999: APP C-2). The new policy guidelines assert that these types of development are "incompatible with cultural protection and are therefore prohibited" (BCZDSO 1999: APP C-2).

The particular success of this policy must be attributed to the countless Sea Island residents who worked with policy officials and governmental agencies to bring about positive change. Chief among the activists involved with this effort was Marquetta L. Goodwine, founder of the Gullah Geechee Sea Island Coalition.[90] Members of the Coalition work diligently to raise awareness about the current problems facing Sea Island communities. Goodwine plays an active role in the development and implementation of community activities, fundraising efforts, and educational workshops given throughout South Carolina and

Georgia concerning ways to preserve her rich cultural heritage. This type of grassroots organization is essential for the survival of Gullah communities.

Sea Island Organizations of Preservation[91]

Currently throughout the Sea Islands there are a number of grassroots organizations which reflect the leadership and organizational skills of Gullah/ Geechee communities (Goodwine 1998c). Non-profit research organizations, such as Penn School and Avery Research Center at the College of Charleston, will also be discussed within this category due to the types of preservation efforts being instigated at these sites. The organizations include, but are not limited to, Penn Center, Inc., The Gullah/ Geechee Sea Island Coalition, St. Helena Island Corners Area Community Preservation Committee, Penn School for Preservation, South Carolina Coastal Community Development Corporation (SCCCDC), The Gullah Consortium, Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society, and St. Simons African- American Heritage Coalition. It is important to note there are a handful of tireless individuals who maintain membership and/or roles within more than one of the following organizations. Also, the possibilities for positive change rise as grassroots groups become interconnected by their mutual agendas of education about, and preservation of, Gullah/ Geechee culture.

The Penn School, now referred to as the Penn Center Inc., is a historic site on the National Register of Historic Places located on St. Helena Island, South Carolina. The Center began as Penn Normal School, the first trade and agricultural school for Sea Island freedmen in 1862. Through the years the Penn Center has worked toward educating others about the rich cultural heritage of the Sea Island Gullah, as well as developing programs to benefit Sea Island communities (e.g. Land Use and Development Fund and the Program for Academic and Cultural Enrichment) (Goodwine 1998c). Presently it serves as a conference center, museum (primarily focused on the days of Penn as Penn Normal School), photo and literary archive, and library. Penn Center has been the site of the "Heritage Days Celebration" for nineteen consecutive years.

The Gullah/ Geechee Sea Island Coalition was founded in 1996 by Marquetta L. Goodwine as a grassroots umbrella group for the Sea Islands. The Coalition is comprised of individuals, institutions, and organizations dedicated to preserving Gullah history, culture, land, and language. The Coalition, based at Hunnuh Home on St. Helena Island, possesses the only known archive devoted to Gullah/Geechee culture. The facilities at Hunnuh Home (meaning our home and your home), serve as research cottages for those interested in conducting research within the Sea Islands. The Coalition also maintains an extensive website and list serve, keeping all members aware of the situation within the various Sea Island communities. Many researchers discussed in this synthesis have spent time at Hunnuh Home. Those interested in conducting research in the St. Helena Island/ Greater Beaufort Area should contact the Coalition for assistance.

The St. Helena Island Corners Area Community Preservation Committee was commissioned by Beaufort County Council, as a citizens committee, to prepare the guidelines for the community preservation district (as recognized within the Beaufort County Zoning District Standards Ordinance (BCZDSO)). The Committee is chaired by Marquetta L. Goodwine, whose formal title is Queen Quet: Chieftess of the Gullah/ Geechee Nation. Members of this Committee work together to present zoning plans for St. Helena Island aimed at preventing further encroachment from development.

In 1992 the Penn Center launched the 'Sea Island Preservation Project' which sought to bring together community leaders and business owners to create economic strategies that would benefit the Sea Islands without destroying the land, traditions, and culture of the Sea Island Gullah. The goal of the project was the creation of a community vision and the formulation of a strategic plan for St. Helena Island. This brought about the establishment of the "Penn School for Preservation" in 1993, in which 37 community leaders and public officials got together on weekends for six months to discuss such issues as zoning, economic development, growth management, and community economic development. Several of the students of Penn

School for Preservation have put the program to work in ways which presently benefit Sea Island communities.

The South Carolina Coastal Community Development Corporation (SCCCDC) is an independent non-profit corporation, directed by Lady's Island native Liz Santagati. In 1997 the SCCCDC was awarded a $1million grant to design and implement economic development activities for Lowcountry residents. This project also provided legal assistance and educational workshops to landowners in order to maintain family land ownership on St. Helena and surrounding islands. Most recent developments include a commercial kitchen/ food processing facility, creation of a small business incubator (designed to empower local residents through self-help business training), and an on-site marketing outlet for local food products and crafts. In 1997, Santagati was awarded the "Community Leadership Award" and recognized by the South Carolina Senate for a life of leadership, dedication, and hard work on behalf of her community.

The Gullah Consortium consists of a group of both Gullah and non-Gullah citizens from various professions, including (but not limited to) educators, activists, curators, government employees, and artists. The group was formed to insure that performances and/or programs relating to Gullah/ Geechee culture were being delivered in an accurate and respectful manner. Currently the group is developing a set of guidelines for performance and interpretation of Gullah culture. Steps like these will aid in the accuracy of information being disseminated about Gullah/ Geechee culture to interested outsiders.

Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, located at the College of Charleston operates as both an academic and community resource. Along with the task of collecting and preserving materials related to African American history and culture, Avery sponsors public programs aimed at educating both academics and non-academics about the rich cultural heritage of African Americans. The Center serves as a museum, reservoir of historical and material archives concerning African American history and culture (with an extensive collection devoted to Sea Island culture), an educational facility, and community outreach.

Sapelo Island, Georgia remains isolated from the mainland, yet they too are fighting the battle of development and land loss. In retaliation, the small Geechee community known as "Hog Hammock" organized the Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society. Members of the society offer guided mule tours of the area and a local boarding facility for those who desire to stay a few days (Goodwine 1998c). One of the most active members of this community organization, Cornelia Bailey, recently released her memoir: God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man: A Saltwater Geechee Talks About Life on Sapelo Island (2000).

The most recent addition to the list of organizations is the St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition, which began in January of 2001. The Coalition, directed by native islander Amy Roberts, is comprised of community members determined not to become "another Daufuskie or Hilton Head" (e-mail communication, gullah-geechee@infobro.com, January 4, 2002). Their most recent campaign, "Don't ask-Won't sell," got the attention of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution for their exhibition of noteworthy community leadership and activism. The Coalition handed out signs to community members to place in their yards, as a testament of solidarity against the rising pressure of real estate developers on the Island.

The grassroots mobilization that is taking place in the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia is a testament to the strong community bonds of Gullah/ Geechee people. Residents of various Island communities are beginning to realize the common thread uniting them is the battle against further cultural, social, economic, and environmental devastation (Hargrove, forthcoming). Marquetta L. Goodwine, native of St. Helena Island, elaborated as follows:

This type of organization is necessary in order for the Gullah community to have our own self-interest promoted as well as to have our culture preserved. We must tell our own stories and govern our own community as our foreparents did. We know that 'empty sak cyan stan upright lone.' Thus, the community must and is coming together to hold up all ends and to hold pun we culcha (Goodwine 1998c, 197).

Chapter 9

Gullah World View and Cultural Values

Gullah people are complex. They have many characteristics that illustrate the perseverance of African cultural traits[92] which have shaped their worldview and value system. For much of history, Gullah life was lived and governed in accordance with nature, seasons, climate, and the tide, but all that seems to be changing (Twining and Baird 1991). What remain, as the most important aspects of Gullah life, are religion, kinship and family, (both extended and fictive kinship), community, and culture. There are bits and pieces of Gullah worldview scattered across the literature but there is no comprehensive study of the principles that structure Gullah life. There is a desperate need for an in-depth project concerning continuities and change within the Gullah worldview.

Family Systems

Discussion and documentation of family systems and structure are embedded in many studies of Gullah culture, often introduced to illustrate the strong African retentions concerning attitudes toward family and children (Twining and Baird 1991). The extended family is the most important social unit within Gullah culture. Many aspects of life are shared within the larger kinship network, including child rearing, monetary and food resources, labor, and decision-making. Gullah families who have not yet lost their land to development and tourism still live in compounds, within which many generations live in close proximity to one another (Jones-Jackson 1987, Hargrove 2000). This style of organization, as well as the importance of family and kinship in the mediation of all aspects of life, bears striking similarity to West and Central African traditions (Pollitzer 1999).

Studies of family systems are also scattered throughout much of the more recent Gullah research (Day 1986; Jones-Jackson 1987; Demerson 1991; Twining and Baird 1991; Guthrie 1996), but a particular dissertation offers native insight into the traditional family patterns of the Gullah. Franklin O. Smith conducted research among fourteen family units[93] on James, Johns, Wadmalaw, Yonges (St. Paul's), and Edisto Islands. Within this research we learn that Elder Sea Islanders take an active role as disciplinarians and child rearing often follows the teachings of the Bible, “aimed at keeping them in the stepping of the Lord” (1973). Smith also introduces the concept of “two for one” discipline; a system that gives all community members the right to discipline a child for misbehaving. They are punished once by the person who catches them, and then again for shedding bad light on the family (1973). The results of Smith’s research lend support to claims of African retentions concerning family structure and child rearing (i.e. West African family systems are based on the extended family, as well as the larger community, taking a mutually responsible role in child rearing (Pollitzer 1999)).

Relationships

Within the African traditional worldview, it is believed that each and every member of society has a place (Creel 1990). Friendship is an integral part of Gullah culture. Bascom describes the affection between Sea Island friends as “legendary” (1941, 47) suggesting this trait is rooted in Yoruba culture. The position of a man’s best friend in Yoruba (korikosum) is crucial; he is the person to which all secrets are entrusted, and with whom all decisions discussed. There are also folktales which indicate a man’s best friend is more trustworthy than even his mother (Bascom 1941).

One of the most important relationships, within a Gullah worldview, is that which exists between human beings and the natural environment (Beoku-Betts 1995). Sea Islanders view their natural surroundings with

respect and a sense of interconnectedness. Their relationship with the environment has always emphasized harmony and social exchange that is non-exploitative (Beoku- Betts 1995). In most cases, their values put the well-being of the whole community before the selfish nature of individualism. Goodwine suggests the abandoning of such principles may be a paramount reason for the problems of our world- "when we begin to look at how everything affects everything else within the universe as our ancestors did, then we will be able to truly begin to start to work toward correcting some of the negative trends that we are faced with" (Goodwine 1998,11).

Gullah Foodways: Daily Pot of Rice

Josephine A. Beoku-Betts offers the most comprehensive study of Gullah foodways (1995). Gullah food culture is based on rice (Turner 1949; Jones-Jackson 1987; Creel 1990) and continues to be strongly influenced by techniques of food preparation originating in West Africa (Beoku-Betts 1995; Carney 2001). Historically, rice was the staple food of Sea Island communities, and continues to be a central part of main meals. It has also been proposed that the term "Geechee" originates within rice culture, and was used in a stereotypical sense to refer to individuals of African descent who spoke fast or funny and ate lots of rice (Hopkins 1992, 42).

One Sea Islander's words serve to illustrate the importance of rice:

> Rice is security. If you have some rice, you'll never starve. It is a bellyful. You should never find a cupboard without it" (Beoku-Betts 1995).

Traditional foods include red rice, shrimp and rice, okra stew, and Hoppin' John (rice cooked with peas and smoked meat).[94] Gullah food is commonly seasoned with onions, salt, pepper, and fresh or smoked meats (Beoku-Betts 1995). The significance of rice within Gullah culture can be attested to by the existence of folklore surrounding the growing, harvesting, preparation, and eating of rice.

Those who prepare Gullah meals have a strong preference for fresh foods (Beoku-Betts 1995). Produce that is not grown by the family can often be purchased at nearby roadside stands and produce marts. During my fieldwork on St. Helena Island one of my acquaintances would always drop by and leave tomatoes, watermelon, and cucumbers on my doorstep. On weekends, in an effort to earn extra cash, some residents of St. Helena Island cook traditional Gullah food and sell it from various locations to tourists and locals alike (Hargrove 2000).

Gullah Views of Life and Death[95]

Within the Gullah worldview, life and death are viewed much differently than most would suspect. Life is meant to be lived, protected, and enriched to the fullest, but when death comes the fear experienced by many worldly beings is not part of the process. The Gullah view death as a journey into the spirit world, not as a break with life (Creel 1990), therefore the cemetery is not viewed as the final resting-place but as a door between two worlds. This explains many of the customs associated with death and funerals practiced within the Sea Islands. For example, if a mother dies and leaves behind a small child or a baby, it will be passed back and forth over the coffin to prevent "dead moder from hant de baby" (Creel 1990).

It is also believed that when a person dies they may not be able to rest if they are leaving behind something they desire. This explains why Gullah gravesites are often filled with material objects. Among some of the most common items found on graves are food, water, pots, broken pitchers, tobacco, and seashells (Creel 1990). Seashells, placed upon the grave, are of particular importance because they symbolize a very important concept within the Gullah worldview. It is believed that placing seashells on the grave represents the sea.[96] Within the BaKongo belief system this symbolism suggests "the sea brought us, the sea shall take us back" (Creel 1990, 90). Broken mirrors are also symbolic; they reflect the light that represents the spirit, holding it at a safe distance from the living (Pollitzer 1999).

Gullah Women: Activists and "Keepers o de Culcha"

Gullah women are, most often, the keepers of tradition and cultural knowledge. They pass on stories, crafts, foodways, and values to their children. The women of the Sea Islands are self-reliant matriarchs, who value autonomy, family and community. They engage in fund raising and community activities aimed at preserving their rich cultural heritage. Beoku-Betts (1995) suggests that the collective activities performed by women promote a sense of shared tradition and identity, while also reinforcing the values of community- centered networks.

The enslaved African females of Sea Island plantations did all the same types of work that was expected of the men (Schwalm 1997).

On antebellum rice plantations, field work was slave women's work.

> The preparation of the fields, the planting, cultivation, harvesting, and processing of rice, and the maintenance of the elaborate plantation irrigation systems occupied the daily lives of most plantation women (Schwalm 1997:19).

It was not only in the fields in which these women made their importance known. The freed women of the South Carolina Sea Islands were deeply involved in the final destruction of the system of slavery (Schwalm 1997). Their dedication and involvement pushed the Union to accept emancipation as a war goal. They also openly confronted the institutionalized forms of power: the state, the Union, and the White power structure. The period of Reconstruction was one of defiance for the freed women of the South Carolina Sea Islands (Schwalm 1997). These women actively protested any compromise concerning the autonomy of their freedom with regard to the agricultural system. Gullah women protested even the presence of White planters and, in some cases resorted to physical violence. Therefore, the history of these women gives us clues as to the strong and autonomous nature of Sea Island women.

The current struggle for autonomy and self-determination builds on a history of female activism and leadership with Sea Islands communities. Contemporary Sea Island women are the daughters of many strong female ancestors, who are revered for their participation in the Civil Rights Movement and other events credited with the subsequent restructuring of social freedom for the African Americans of the southern United States. It was on St. Helena Island that Dr. Martin Luther King came to retreat from the rest of the world in order to relax with his family. Within this community, Dr. King found much support from registered female voters; ready to take action against racism to promote social equality. In all capacities, women of the Sea Islands are the foundation upon which culture has been built and sustained. Perhaps they will provide the necessary momentum for cultural, linguistic, and environmental preservation.

Chapter 10
Development and Change: Gullah as an Endangered Species

"We have given up on trying to protect the shrimp and crab because we, the black native population of these islands, have become the new endangered species"
(Emory Campbell 1984 in Rosengarten 1994).

The Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia are under siege. Those Gullah and Geechee communities that remain intact are constantly under threat of development and change inflicted by outside interests. The island environments are beautiful and serene and the pace of life is always a breath of fresh air for any visitor from the hectic outside world. Ironically the very things that attract outsiders are the first things to be destroyed by an influx of newcomers who decide to make this paradise home. Much of the existing literature makes reference to the devastating effects of development and tourism (Nichols 1976; Slaughter 1979; Derby 1980; Day 1986; Rosengarten 1986; Jones- Jackson 1987; Carawan 1989; Demerson 1991; Twining and Baird 1991; Baird and Twining 1994; Guthrie 1996; Goodwine 1998; Joyner 1999; Pollitzer 1999) as it has increased at varied rates throughout a number of Sea Island communities. The literature focused on this phenomenon is growing rapidly as more and more scholars become aware of the situation, but much needs to be done within applied social science to put knowledge to use toward Gullah preservation.

Shrimp Creek, Georgia

As early as 1959, social scientists were beginning to document the changes within Gullah society resulting from increased contact with outsiders, particularly EuroAmericans. Simon Ottenberg conducted research in the Shrimp Creek community, Georgia, in the summer of 1950.[97] What Ottenberg witnessed was an isolated, religious, traditional fishing community being transformed into a suburban area (Ottenberg 1991). During the 1950s this community was the epitome of Gullah community life and culture. They were self sufficient fishermen and shrimpers who owned their land and had strong bonds created by kinship, friendship, and church participation. They maintained insurance clubs and savings clubs, while church served to regulate the activities and social control within the community. On Tuesdays and Fridays they would travel to Savannah to sell their seafood in the streets. They also supplied seafood to neighboring communities. During the early 1950s, however, White outsiders began large-scale commercial fishing establishments in direct competition with Shrimp Creek residents. Many were forced to take up manual labor jobs in Savannah, and those who could not find a job migrated to New York, Philadelphia and other northern areas (Ottenberg 1991).

Development brought changes that were devastating to the residents of Shrimp Creek. Prior to increased contact, the residents had relied on their own knowledge of medicinal remedies for health; however, increased contact brought about a greater reliance on the medical professionals of the Savannah urban area. Shrimp Creek, along with the sharp decline in their fishing industry, also experienced the consolidation of their school systems, directly resulting in increased competition within the educational system as children began viewing education as a means of social and economic advancement (Ottenberg 1991).

One of the most common problems associated with changes such as these is the schism they create between young and old. As the elder generation struggles to maintain their lifeways, the youth see the “old ways” as backward, causing mass retreat away from home toward the values of mass culture (Beoku-Betts 1995; Goodwine 1998d; Smith 1999; Hargrove 2000). I have documented this phenomenon within my own research in St. Helena, as well as Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina. Overall, this creates profound and lasting effects on community cohesion and mobilization for positive change.

Edisto Island, South Carolina

Recent work conducted by Lauren E. Smith tells a similar story of the devastating consequences of development and encroachment. Smith conducted fieldwork within the Edisto Island community concerning performance events, such as preaching and storytelling, and the interaction between performer and audience. What she documents, however, is a community at risk of losing their cultural heritage (1999). Historically, Edisto was home to the Cusabo Indians (the Edistow tribe) until the plantation system took hold in 1724. The Civil War brought land ownership to Edisto Island's Gullah slaves, just as it did throughout the Sea Islands, and they remained there as self sufficient farmers for generations. However, as of the late 1990s, Smith describes the current community of Gullah residents as "poor and afraid of losing their cultural lifeways" (1999). Smith goes on to suggest that the future of Edisto is unsure, due to the out migration of Gullah youth and the influx of drugs.

Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina: Women and Development

The economic picture for Mt. Pleasant is cut from the same mold as those discussed thus far. The women of this community, however, have carved out an economic niche for themselves by sewing sweetgrass baskets for the tourism market (Derby 1980; Day 1982; Rosengarten 1994; Hargrove 2000). Kay Young Day's extensive research within the Mt. Pleasant community makes an important contribution to the literature concerning collective responses to development and change.[98] Many of the elderly women interviewed spoke of a time when they were economically independent. Some grew produce and sold it at roadside stands or in the Charleston market. But more recently population growths, in-migration of Whites, and changes in the service sector have negatively affected the women of this community. In response to their economic marginalization women have created networks, through kinship and friendship, which give them greater control over their economic futures.

Day's work is focused on the ways in which women of the Mt. Pleasant community assist one another with child rearing, domestic tasks, and economic ventures, such as sweetgrass basketry. At the time of Day's research over 50% of the women of Mt. Pleasant produced baskets sold from makeshift wooden stands along highway 17 (Day 1982). By creating support networks for one another, these women have created an economic niche market aimed at tourists. This offers an alternative to the wage work brought about by development and tourism (Day 1986).

In addition to the basket industry, the women of Mt. Pleasant have another option. Day documented many cases of women migrating to New York City in search of employment (1982). New York City offers a broad range of job opportunities in the medical profession, most notably in hospitals. When a Mt. Pleasant woman establishes herself in New York, she will often recruit interested kin from home to move up North. This type of network, although it is essential to the economic future of these women, ultimately takes residents from their Sea Island communities. Recent research conducted in Mt. Pleasant suggests this may be one of the primary avenues by which family land is lost (Hargrove 2000). When residents are invested in their work and community in New York, it is hard to devote time, money, and energy to business back home. Developers have learned to take advantage of such predicaments, employing various strategies to acquire valuable family land. Therefore, the limited nature of wage work often associated with tourism and development, which is often cited as the primary reason for migrating to New York, has serious consequences for Native Sea Islanders.

Hilton Head Island, South Carolina: A "Culture of Servitude"[99]

Hilton Head Island serves as a constant reminder of the possibilities of immense development. Lisa V. Faulkenberry, in her recent dissertation (1997) and co-published journal article (2000), urges us to consider the multiple realities of development. Faulkenberry conducted two years of research in Beaufort County, interviewing residents of St. Helena Island, Beaufort, Hilton Head Island, and Daufuskie Island. Within her research paradigm she includes local fishermen and shrimpers, both African American and White residents, business owners, government officials, and retirees,[100] in an attempt to explore the economic and social

impacts of tourism on the residents of SC Sea Islands (1997). The results offer new perspectives and create new agendas for the study of Gullah in the twenty first century.

Taking an in-depth look at development, governmental involvement in tourism decision making, land ownership and use, property tax increases, and new businesses and job opportunities, Faulkenberry concludes that tourism threatens to destroy the self-sustainability of Sea Islanders through a process referred to as the "culture of servitude" (1997). The jobs available to Sea Island residents create and perpetuate economic dependence and social inequality, and are limited to minimum wage service jobs such as housekeepers, golf caddies, cooks, maids, maintenance workers, waiters, and waitresses (Joyner 1999). These types of "servitude" sustain a power differential between locals (Gullah, African American) and tourists (EuroAmerican). Furthermore, increased tourism brings increased taxes, higher crime rates, geographic displacement, and family deterioration (Faulkenberry 1997; Faulkenberry et al. 2000).

Changes such as these have taken their toll on the everyday lives of Gullah communities. Farming has disappeared in many areas and property taxes are constantly on the increase. More importantly, there is a distinct nostalgia to the way people speak about their island homes prior to tourism (Faulkenberry 1997). Their homes have lost the small town cohesion built over the past few hundred years and they have nothing to show for it. They are not involved in the decision-making processes that directly affect their communities. They have no opportunities for ownership of tourist businesses (Faulkenberry 1997), only menial positions working in them. The psychological ramifications directly affect family life, while often leading to social disintegration. In addition, Gullah cultural practices and traditions are being altered by insiders, outsiders, and the state in an attempt to seduce the tourism dollar (Hargrove 2000).

Commoditization of Culture: Gullah Culture for Sale

The most recent work concerning development and change within the Sea Islands of South Carolina concerns the appropriation of Gullah identity within the tourism industries of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island (Hargrove 2000).[101] There are countless entrepreneurs coming to the Sea Islands to profit from the wholesale distribution of Gullah culture. Musical groups, restaurants, tours, and the tourism industry of South Carolina are marketing Gullah imagery and culture in an effort to capitalize on the increasing interest in this nostalgic lifeway (Hargrove 2000). Chief among the images being appropriated is the sweetgrass basket woman, who appears on everything. Postcards, calendars, travel guides, and a wide range of brochures are adorned with images of sweetgrass baskets, basket women, or both.[102] This type of cultural commoditization, or piracy of identity, should not go unnoticed by the administrators of South Carolina as one of the key contributors to rising tourism within the State.

Daufuskie Island: Internal Effects of Development

Development and tourism have devastated countless Gullah communities, but we often overlook the effects that are not readily visible and quantifiable in scientific terms. We can assess economic loss, land loss, and even cultural loss and acculturation to an extent, but it is extremely hard to investigate the psychological ramifications of these sweeping changes. Such an attempt was made, however, by a psychology doctoral student- Sabra C. Slaughter. In 1979, his dissertation "The Old Ones Dying and The Young Ones Leaving:" The Effects of Modernization on the Community of Daufuskie Island, South Carolina Slaughter gives us a glimpse of the negative effects of such processes with regard to Daufuskie Island community cohesion and autonomy. Slaughter's interest in this community was sparked during the summers of 1973 and 1974 while working as a student volunteer and later a paid employee, in a program implemented by University of California at Santa Cruz. The aim of the program was to place students on Daufuskie to assist community members with transportation, public health, and educational needs (1979). She later returned as a researcher, collecting extensive oral history of some twenty- six residents of Daufuskie,[103] to assess the effects of modernization on this isolated, rural community.

Within the oral histories and interview data collected by Slaughter, a clear picture emerges of a community devastated by modernization and development. The educational system has been tremendously altered,

resulting in bureaucratization and impersonalization, and loss of community control and decision making within the educational system (1979). Most of the decision making power, concerning educational policy, had been transferred to extracommunity government, leaving Daufuskie residents feeling hopelessly out of control of their lives and the lives of their children.

Aside from changes in the educational system, Slaughter goes on to reveal how a cultural tradition was erased in the development process. For many decades Daufuskie Island tourism included "picnic boat" tourism, comprised of local fishermen, shrimpers, and crabbers, transporting small groups of tourists to the island, as well as selling their goods to the tourists and Hilton Head residents. This was their livelihood, as well as a family tradition (1979); however, Hilton Head companies began offering boat tours to the island and displaced the enterprise. The end result was a loss of livelihood and loss of economic earnings. Changes such as these, as well as countless others, have the young residents leaving home in search of better economic opportunities, just as the old ones are dying out. Slaughter presents Daufuskie as a community in danger of loss of autonomy and social cohesion, as well as at risk of losing the very place they call home.

In retrospect, Slaughter's work seems almost prophetic. Daufuskie Island has been all but seized. It is hardly recognizable as a once self-sufficient Gullah community, with only a handful of people left in the midst of the golf courses, villas and condos (Goodwine 1998a). Residents can no longer visit their descendents buried in Gullah graveyards due to restricted areas set off by gates and guards (Goodwine 1998c). Daufuskie Islanders recently won a lawsuit granting access to previous family burial areas, which seemed like a long awaited success. However, since they are not permitted to drive up to the graveyard, they must resort to carrying bodies long distances in order to continue traditional cultural practices (Marquetta L. Goodwine, personal communication 2002). The small remaining Gullah community appears imprisoned on an edge of the island, wondering how long it will be before developers find a way to get their hands on the small area that remains.

Conclusion

The cases summarized here can be taken as representative of the larger community of Sea Islands. They are all at risk of being destroyed by development and tourism, if they have escaped the wrath thus far. We must begin to look at our work as an opportunity to investigate these issues, as well as become involved in the struggles to stop this "destructionment" (Goodwine's perspective on the truth behind the development of the Sea Islands, 1998a). Governments, agencies, and activists must begin to work toward restricting access to development companies with grand plans of resorts and tourism taking the place of Gullah survival.

Conclusion

Social science is moving in the direction of action-oriented research. Research for the sake of research is no longer acceptable; therefore all future research within the Sea Islands should be approached with an agenda for contributing, in some way, to local communities.[104] We can no longer stand outside and observe communities with the intention of publication or prestige. It is imperative that research be conducted to preserve the oral histories, folktales, traditional herbal remedies, religious practices, and lifeways being destroyed by the current attack of development, but it must be managed in a collective effort with community leaders, activists, and organizations. We have much to learn from the real warriors, those who deal with these problems on a daily basis. They hold the keys to the future of Gullah as a viable lifeway and cultural tradition.

No amount of literary creativity could summarize suggestions for future Gullah research more eloquently than Charles Joyner does in his most recent publication:

> The old talk and the old tales, the old prayers and the old personal expressiveness are more than just quaint cultural artifacts. They have provided the islanders with a sense of continuity with generations gone before, a precious lifeline to courageous ancestors who survived slavery and

> endured generations of poverty. That heritage is a source of strength that has enabled them to cope with the hail and upheaval of life. As we drift further and further out upon the sea of modernization, that heritage may be as crucial to our sanity and survival as to theirs. The Sea Islanders and their folk culture have something precious to offer us if we do not destroy them first (Joyner 1999, 281).

With this in mind, scholars can contribute to a more equitable and collaborative effort with the remaining Sea Island communities of South Carolina and Georgia. They are, after all, the true "keepers o de culcha."

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Endnotes

[1] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggests including Amelia Island, Florida in the Gullah/ Geechee culture area based on a recent book, *American Beach*; written by Russ Rymer and published in 1998. This book should be read and taken into consideration in future projects concerning Gullah/ Geechee people.
[2] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested including Wadmalaw Island to the list of viable Gullah communities in South Carolina.
[3] Linguistic connections between Gullah and the Caribbean abound within the literature. For further clarification, see *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture*, edited by Michael Montgomery. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.
[4] Jones-Jackson also discusses connections between Gullah religious ceremony, Jamaican pocomania and Brazilian macumba (1994).
[5] Lorenzo Dow Turner introduced term.
[6] Etymology is defined as "The origin and historical development of a linguistic form as shown by determining its basic elements, earliest known use, and changes in form and meaning, tracing its transmission from one language to another, identifying its cognates in other languages, and reconstructing its ancestral form where possible" *http://www.dictionary.com*.
[7] *Sea Island Diary: A History of St. Helena Island* (1983) represents a historical account of the Penn School and St. Helena Island, compiled primarily from diaries, letters, Penn School archives, and historic records.
[8] *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment (1964)* is an historic account of the design and implementation of the Port Royal Experiment within the Sea Islands of South Carolina.
[9] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested the land sales were to satisfy tax South Carolina owed to the Union.
[10] Emory Campbell, director of the Penn Center on St. Helena Island, referred to Sea Islanders as the real endangered species of the region.
[11] Lorenzo Dow Turner was the first to conduct a scientific investigation of Gullah language, often referred to as Sea Island Creole. Turner interviewed 21 Gullah speakers during his 1932 fieldwork. Twelve were residents of South Carolina Sea Islands (Johns, Wadmalaw, Edisto, and St. Helena) while nine were from Georgia (St. Simons, Sapelo, Harris Neck, and Brewer's Neck).
[12] Patricia Jones- Jackson conducted three years of fieldwork on Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina, in an attempt to determine the status of Gullah language. Her informants consisted of twenty-four native resident speakers.
[13] West African groups represented in the linguistic connection between the Sea Islands and West Africa include the Bambara, Bini, Bobangi ,Djerma, Efik, Ewe, Fante, Fon, Fula, Ga, Gbari, Hausa, Ibo, Ibibio, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Kpelle, Mende, Malinke, Nupe, Susu, Songhai, Twi, Tshiluba, Umbundu, Vai, Wolof, and Yoruba (Turner 1949).
[14] A morpheme is a grammatical unit that is irreducible into smaller units, being realized phonologically by a form that cannot be analyzed in smaller units without losing meaningfulness. Example: "unladylike" consists of three morphemes: 'un' (meaning not), 'lady' (acting as a female adult human), and 'like' (having the characteristics of). Another example, "dogs" has two morphemes: 'dog' (canine animal), and 's' (meaning plural tense of a noun).
[15] Sengova conducted linguistic research in Beaufort and St. Helena Island, South Carolina, during the Fall of 1987.
[16] Linguistic group representing areas from which a majority of African slaves were taken into bondage.

[17] Dissertation research involved no fieldwork, but offers an Appendix in which the various African language families and their geographic location are presented, as well as the linguistic origins of many words found within the Gullah language system.
[18] Pidgin language is a simplified form of speech that is usually a mixture of two or more languages, with rudimentary grammar and vocabulary. Such languages are used for communication between groups speaking different languages, and are not spoken as a first or native language.
[19] Creole, as used here, is defined as a language formed from contact between two other languages, which retains features of both.
[20] Cunningham conducted field research during April and May of 1969 on Johns, Edisto, and Yonges Islands, South Carolina. Primary informants consisted of four elderly native speakers, with little formal education, and three middle aged native informants (who assisted in translation, semantics, and syntactic constructions of Sea Island Creole). This dissertation is presented as the first to analyze the syntactic system of Sea Island Creole as a language. Main idea is to legitimate the language of Sea Islanders as a Creole language through the analysis of the syntactic system (and the relationships between Sea Island Creole and other Creole languages).
[21] Syntactic systems are arrangements of words in sentences in their necessary relations, according to the established usage rules of a particular language (e.g. In English the relationship between noun and adjective is as follows: The white horse ran; however, in Spanish the grammatical system dictates the adjective follow the noun: El caballo blanco.).
[22] The adjective *lexical* is applied generally to the vocabulary of a language, especially to distinguish content words from function words.
[23] Grammatical system is defined as the formal definition of the syntactic structure of a language.
[24] William A. Stewart is credited with the development of basilect, acrolect, and mesolect terminology.
[25] Copula is defined as a verb that joins a subject to its complement. Example: The book *is* on the shelf. The farmers *are* plowing their fields.
[26] Hopkins conducted fieldwork on Edisto, Hilton Head, Daufuskie, Sapelo, Yonges, Johns, St. Helena, Sandy's, and St. Simon's Islands, as well as in Brunswick and Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina.
[27] Author of *The Black Border: Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast* (1922).
[28] In the case of Gullah/ Geechee, code switching refers an individual's ability to move comfortably back and forth between Standard English and Gullah language.
[29] Subjects for language analysis were selected from Daufuskie Island, James Island, and Orangeburg, South Carolina, as well as from Gainesville and Ocala, Florida.
[30] Evoking the spirit refers to the process of using words to create an energy, from which God is actually evoked and is thought to become embodied in members of the congregation (Jones-Jackson 1994, 116).
[31] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested the inclusion of a parallel study, conducted by Dr. Althea Sumpter of St. Helena Island. Within this work Sumpter "speaks of shame and ridicule heaped upon Sea Island young people as they were integrated into mainland schools" (Twining, personal communication, 2002).
[32] All tests administered to various employees within the school system are included in the appendices of the thesis. Eighty-three questionnaires were returned and analyzed.
[33] Hargrove conducted fieldwork within the communities of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island, South Carolina between 1998 and 2000. During each summer, Hargrove interviewed thirteen informants, all of which were incorporated into her master's thesis *Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism* (2000).

[34] Jones-Jackson spent a total of nine years researching Gullah and Geechee culture, as well as conducting comparative research in Nigeria, West Africa.
[35] There was no human subjects research conducted for this study. Data were obtained through historical documentation and research within many libraries: Union Theological Seminary, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, University of Virginia Library, S.C. Dept. of Archives and History, S.C. Historical Society, Furman Univ. Library, Missionary Library at Union Theological Seminary, New York Historical Society, and New York Public Library.
[36] Samuel Lawton conducted research on Laurel Springs plantation in Colleton County, Pocotaligo and Combeehee plantations in Beaufort County, and St. Helena, Ladies', Port Royal, Parris, and Coosaw Islands for dissertation in religious education. His overall focus was to gain a broader understanding of their religious lives.
[37] Guthrie conducted ethnographic research on St. Helena Island from July 1975 to July 1976 for dissertation. The results were later published as a book, *Catching Sense: African American Community on a South Carolina Sea Island* (1996).
[38] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that the idea of "catching sense" could be linked to the idea of "seeking."
[39] Sarah Selina Thrower conducted research concerning the musical features of spirituals within South Carolina (limited details concerning research); several musical scores are included in her thesis.
[40] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested the concept of "one God" was long held in African religious and spiritual beliefs, thereby making it a familiar concept to incorporate into the Gullah worldview.
[41] Lyrics are recorded in Hart 1993.
[42] In 1999, The State of South Carolina officially declared "Spiritual" the State Music (personal communication Marquetta L. Goodwine, http://www.netstate.com/states/symb/sc_symb.htm).
[43] Edward Brantley Hart conducted research on John's Island, South Carolina. The dissertation is a "first hand account" of the performance practices of the Gullah spiritual as it was performed at a traditional Gullah prayer meeting. There were fourteen women and two men in attendance at this particular meeting, with a mean age of 72 years old.
[44] *Shoo Turkey Shoo* is a song associated with children and play (Carawan 1966, 1989).
[45] This is an excellent collection in the fact that the informants are named and their pictures appear. This validates the research, as well as serving as an oral history collection for generations to come.
[46] Starks gives no explicit number of informants, but his work suggests there were multiple informants from the elder generation.
[47] June T. Watkins conducted research on St. Helena Island during July of 1991, in an attempt to assess strategies of social control. Informants consisted of community members, including local ministers and deacons, who had participated in the just law system (between fifteen and twenty informants were interviewed for this dissertation).
[48] Several reviewers of an early draft of this document have suggested the Federal Writers Project represents an inaccurate portrayal of Gullah/ Geechee people, due to the following: the recorders on the project were EuroAmerican, the African Americans interviewed related the types of information they believed these recorders wanted to hear, and the interviewees were careful not to go beyond their perceived social roles.
[49] Six of the ten essays presented in this collection were based on presentations at the Ninth Annual Language and Culture in South Carolina Symposium, held at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1985.
[50] Okatie is an area located near Hilton Head Island, South Carolina.
[51] South Carolina Rivers.

[52] Georgia Sea Island.
[53] Davis suggests that the majority of scholarly work on African American folklore has been examined from the perspective of *folklore as entertainment*, thereby minimizing depth and content.
[54] Participant-observation was the methodology for research, as well as archival and library research.
[55] Zora Neale Hurston was an anthropologist who collected folklore for the WPA. After struggling against the grain as an African American female in academia, she wrote fiction stories about real placed she had conducted research. Hurston was among the first, if not the first, to attribute depth and character to the cultures of these isolated locations up and down the Southeastern Coast of the United States. Her work is only currently being appreciated for its value and scholarship.
[56] A part of the amnion, one of the membranes enveloping the fetus, which sometimes is around the head of a child at its birth.
[57] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested "The Rabbit and the Partridge" story also illustrates features of island life, such as polygamy, which was still being practiced when she lived on Johns Island between 1966 and 1971 (Mary Twining, personal communication 2001).
[58] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that publications written by Gullah and Geechee scholars be taken more seriously, particularly within the study of folklore. Reviewer suggests a recent publication, *God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man: a Saltwater Geechee Talks About Life on Sapelo Island* (2000), as just one example of the importance of storytelling within Sea Island life. This book "makes a serious case for the importance of folklore and especially storytelling among the Gullah speaking people of South Carolina and Georgia (Alpha Bah, personal communication, 2001).
[59] The Sea Islands of Georgia were also sites of rice cultivation, but never on the grand scale that took place in the South Carolina Sea Islands. For a detailed study of rice cultivation throughout the Sea Islands see Goodwine 1999.
[60] Paul Salter conduced fieldwork throughout the South Carolina Sea Islands, during which he interviewed county agents, farmers, laborers, elder citizens, state and county officials, real estate developers, and resort owners in order to investigate the changing economic patterns of the island areas. His dissertation also contributes data concerning climate, vegetation, growing seasons, weather, and soil types, as well as cotton and rice production techniques.
[61] Carney establishes technology transfer (from West Africa to Sea Islands) of pestle and mortar use, tool types (such as the hoe), rice cooking techniques.
[62] The loss of British price supports for indigo after the Revolution aided in the demise of indigo cultivation and export (Pollitzer 1999).
[63] Kay Young Day began conducting research within the Mt. Pleasant community of South Carolina in 1971. Her dissertation is primarily concerned with the role of kinship and community within the changing economy of this Sea Island area.
[64] The data for this dissertation were collected from archival materials, family papers, Beaufort County public records, and diaries and memoirs from the Penn School Papers. It also contains the names of prominent planters in the Low Country region, as well as plantation names and numbers of slaves for specific plantations.
[65] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document suggested Sea Islanders had additional reasons for choosing to stay on the home plantation: "where our families are is where we are connected in mind, body, and soul" (Marquetta L. Goodwine, personal communication 2002).
[66] Normand utilized historic records to assess the impact of land ownership on the St. Helena

Parish and the subsequent development of an economically dependent, as well as politically organized and mobilized, class of freedmen.
[67] Pollitzer cites Julia F. Morton (*Folk Remedies of the Low Country*, Miami: E.A.Seemann Publishers, 1974) and Faith Mitchell (1978) as primary sources.
[68] Folk healers are highly revered in Gullah/ Geechee communities for their expertise and knowledge, including healing the physically sick, protecting the body from harm, and the ability to change bad habits and undesirable behavior (Smith 1973).
[69] Faith Mitchell is a medical anthropologist and conducted her research in South Carolina and Georgia during the early 1970s.
[70] Heyer gives extensive account of the difficulty she had in establishing rapport with the residents of St. Helena Island. She suggests Sea Islanders are untrusting of outsiders. She lived within the community for six months before she obtained her first interview.
[71] Hag is believed to be someone close to dying, and is indicated by waking up with a feeling of pressure as if something is sitting on you (Heyer 1981).
[72] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested Heyer's work is inaccurate, due to her status as an outsider. Sea Island people are particularly suspecting of researchers (Hargrove 2000), especially when discussing folk remedies and belief systems.
[73] Author spent one year as a resident of St. Helena Island. He makes a point to call attention to the difficulties of conducting research as a white researcher within the community and cites particular difficulty in dealing with the Penn Center.
[74] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that governmental bodies charged with protecting the health and general welfare of Sea Island communities need to examine the damage done by golf courses, tennis courts, and marinas (as well as the chemicals used to clean them).
[75] Syncretism refers to a process by which a group merges the cultural elements of two distinct cultures into one. Here it is used to discuss the syncretic elements of Gullah arts and crafts, as a blending of elements from West African cultures and their lives in the Sea Islands.
[76] Dale Rosengarten participated in the Lowcountry Basket Project of the 1980s, interviewing thirty-four basket makers from South Carolina. The data from this project, along with a basket collection, was organized into a traveling art exhibit between 1988 and 1990, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The exhibit catalog *Row Upon Row: Sea Grass Baskets of the South Carolina Lowcountry* was first published by McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina (1986) as part of their program to document and promote Southern Folk Arts. The catalog contains historical and ethnographic data gathered during the initial project. Rosengarten has published extensively on Gullah basketry.
[77] For the most recent elaboration on the cultural connections between South Carolina and West Africa (with regard to basketry) see Carney 2001.
[78] The vast majority of fieldwork conducted on basketry has taken place in the community of Mt. Pleasant.
[79] Doris Derby conducted ethnographic fieldwork for fifteen months in Mt. Pleasant in 1977 and 1978. Her results appear in her dissertation *Black Women Basket Makers: A Study of Domestic Economy in Charleston County, South Carolina* (1980). She collected life histories and extensive interviews with four principal informants, as well as genealogies.
[80] Doris Derby lived in Charleston County for fifteen months, beginning in 1977. She collected data through participant observation, collection of life histories and genealogies, informal questioning, formal questionnaires, library and archival research. Derby also held a teaching position at the College of Charleston while conducting research for her dissertation. Three females and one male basket makers served as key informants.

[81] Hargrove conducted extensive fieldwork in the Sea Island communities of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island during the summer months of 1998 and 1999. She gathered data from thirteen informants (six of which were Mt. Pleasant basket weavers) during participant observation, interviews, and community involvement. She is currently conducting doctoral research based on similar issues of Gullah/ Geechee culture.
[82] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that development is taking a toll on other traditional Charleston vendors as well. Reviewer states, "fewer and fewer Gullah artisans and flower ladies can be found vending in Downtown Charleston because increasing commercialization of the area is driving them out. Also, the rent for spaces in the Charleston market continues to rise, making it unaffordable for many vendors."
[83] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested that the colors and patterns of Gullah quilts has been embellished by academics. Reviewer suggests quilts represent the fabrics that were available at the time. While reviewer recognizes certain colors were used to symbolize specific occasions in the life cycle, she suggests the complexity attached to this utilitarian craft is highly exaggerated.
[84] See also *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, 1940.
[85] Archaeological materials gathered from Yamacraw and Wilmington Island (Vlach 1978).
[86] Bascom conducted fieldwork in Nigeria in 1937 and 1938, and in Georgia and South Carolina in 1939.
[87] Recent scholarly research conducted on Hilton Head Island (Faulkenberry et al. 2000) concerning the economic conditions of Sea Island residents, will be discussed in Chapter 10: Development and Change: Gullah as an Endangered Species.
[88]The abbreviation used to represent the Beaufort County Comprehensive Plan of 1997.

[89] Recently, in a similar move, Charleston County began work on a parallel plan, The Unified Development Ordinance (UDO), to aid in the implementation of the Charleston County Comprehensive Plan.
[90] Marquetta L. Goodwine's official title is Queen Quet: Chieftess of the Gullah/ Geechee Nation.
[91] Information pertaining to Sea Island organizations is data obtained by Melissa D. Hargrove from various Sea Island informants. All data is part of her ongoing dissertation research concerning grassroots mobilization in the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands.
[92] Cultural traits that illustrate a connection between the Sea Islands and West Africa are referred to as "Africanisms."
[93] There were eighty-four informants involved in this study. The survey information appears in the Appendix.
[94] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document conveyed that the same combination is referred to as "okra soup" on John's Island.
[95] One of the reviewers on an early draft of this document, who is also a Sea Island native, suggests that spiritual beliefs and practices (such as life and death) be recognized as sacred to Gullah/ Geechee people, therefore any and all future research within this area should be done under the direct guidance of community activists.
[96] One of the reviewers of an early draft of this document has suggested "the location of cemeteries at water's edge enabled the spirits to 'cross de wata' easily; we were told this verbally by a Geechee man" (Alyssa Lee, personal communication 2001).
[97] Simon Ottenberg first published the findings of his research in *Phylon* 20 (1) in 1959. The article was slightly edited and included in the recent monograph *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia* (1991), edited by Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird.
[98] Day's research resulted in a book chapter "Kinship in a Changing Economy: A View From

the Sea Islands" (1982) and her anthropology dissertation *My Family Is Me: Women's Kin Networks and Social Power in a Black Sea Island Community*, Rutgers University (1986). She resided in Mt. Pleasant for one and a half years and interviewed many community residents, ranging from children to community elders. She utilized a life history methodology, resulting in several life histories included in her dissertation.

[99] Faulkenberry introduces this term to the literature in an attempt to suggest the extremely limited nature of wage work available to Sea Islanders.

[100] Faulkenberry interviewed forty-five local residents.

[101] Melissa Hargrove conducted extensive fieldwork within the communities of Mt. Pleasant and St. Helena Island over a three-year period. She interviewed thirteen native Gullah residents concerning the current predicament and ramifications of development and tourism. Her thesis, *Marketing Gullah: Identity, Cultural Politics, and Tourism* (2000) contributes to our knowledge of the ways in which identity is being used to promote tourism within the Sea Islands of South Carolina.

[102] Most of the images used in this manner are allegedly taken without proper permission.

[103] Interview guide appears in full as Appendix B. The methodology employed by Slaughter provides an excellent tool for future research concerning community cohesion and native ideas about modernization and development. This dissertation also includes a chronological history of Daufuskie from colonial period to 1980; covering such topics as slavery, agriculture, economics, education, religious, and family systems.

[104] Goodwine 1998b offers "Guidelines for Conducting Research" within Gullah/ Geechee communities